

REPORTS FROM THE SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITION TO THE NORTH-WESTERN  
PROVINCES OF CHINA UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF DR. SVEN HEDIN

— THE SINO-SWEDISH EXPEDITION —

PUBLICATION 18

**VIII. Ethnography**

**I**

雍和宮

YUNG=HO=KUNG

AN ICONOGRAPHY OF THE LAMAIST CATHEDRAL  
IN PEKING

WITH NOTES ON LAMAIST MYTHOLOGY AND CULT

BY

F. D. LESSING

VOLUME ONE

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STOCKHOLM 1942





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**YUNG-HO-KUNG**  
**AN ICONOGRAPHY OF THE LAMAIST CATHEDRAL**  
**IN PEKING**











Lamaist painting representing Tsong-kha-pa and his chief disciples.  
Above Maytreya in Tushita Heaven.

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BY

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IN COLLABORATION WITH

*GÖSTA MONTELL*

VOLUME ONE

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IN GRATITUDE AND FRIENDSHIP

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# P R E F A C E

**T**he present volume is the first one to appear in Series No. VIII, Ethnography, of the Sino-Swedish Expedition. The objection may certainly be raised that this work properly belongs under the heading History of Religion and consequently ought to be placed in a special series. It may be anticipated that the same comment will be made with reference to other works planned to form part of this series. However, we have considered it advisable to avoid further subdivisions and have decided to make Series No. VIII include all the publications on the material collected by the ethnographic section of the expedition. We hope in this series to present most of the results obtained thanks to the magnificent donation received from Mr. Vincent Bendix in 1929.

This work is dedicated to Mr. Bendix, the greatest private benefactor of the expedition, whose liberal support and interest made it possible for me to realize my dream of including the study of the culture of the Asiatic peoples in the programme of the expedition. I can now only express a simple but heartfelt thanks for the wonderful gift and I can assure Mr. Bendix that this feeling of gratitude is shared by the Swedish people, who have been fortunate enough to receive the abundant East-Asiatic collections that are now the pride of the Ethnographical Museum of Sweden at Stockholm.

We are obliged to seek private support to defray the costs of publishing the ethnographical series. The publishing of this volume has been rendered possible by my old friend Director Martin Månsson donating a considerable amount for the purpose.

Thanks to several lucky circumstances it was possible, in the summer of 1930, to obtain for the researches of the ethnographical section the assistance of Professor Ferdinand D. Lessing, the famous sinologist. The productive and harmonious collaboration that immediately started and lasted for the better part of three years in China has never ceased though tremendous distances now separate us. Prof. Lessing's profound knowledge and his readiness always to place his experience and energy at our disposal has been of inestimable value to the expedition and to me personally. I sincerely hope that for many years to come we shall

have the advantage of Prof. Lessing's assistance for our publications and that the present volume will soon be followed by others from his hand.

It is also a great pleasure for me to express my gratitude to Prof. Bernhard Karlgren who has sacrificed much of his valuable time to the checking of the numerous Chinese characters in this book.

I owe a great debt of gratitude to the gentlemen who in word and deed have facilitated the publishing of this first work by Prof. Lessing, but most of all to Dr. Gösta Montell, who with energy and expert knowledge brought together the religious historical collections of the expedition in Asia, which are the foundation for the present and future studies on the cult, art, and literature of Lamaism. Dr. Montell is also the editor of this series of scientific works containing the results of our fieldwork in Asia. The editing of this volume has cost him especially much time and trouble. Most of the photographs illustrating this work are the products of Dr. Montell's veteran camera. Without his loyal collaboration it would not have been possible to publish this work under the present conditions and my sincere thanks are due to him for all his assistance.

Finally I desire to mention that the war has caused very great difficulties in completing this work. Due to the slow and unreliable postal service between California and Sweden it has not been possible for the author to read all the proofs. We must therefore ask the reader to be indulgent with any errors that may have been overlooked.

Stockholm in November 1941

*Sven Hedin.*



# P R E F A T O R Y   R E M A R K S

**T**he present volume is the first of a series of studies dealing chiefly with the iconography of Lamaism and various aspects of its cult. These studies are, for the most part, based on and stimulated by researches made in the Yung-ho-kung in Peking, the once proud cathedral of Lamaism *in partibus infidelium*. As the architectural plan of this temple with its sixteen halls of worship furnishes the outward frame for the book, the studies are presented here under this rather ambitious title.

What was originally undertaken as a layman's guide to the temple has, because of my deepening interest and the mere accumulation of detail, grown to include descriptions of some of the many rites with selected translations from the liturgical texts. It is hoped that in this form it will prove of interest to the specialist.

It was nearly twenty years ago that the idea of compiling an iconographical guide to the Yung-ho-kung was prompted to me by Mrs. Irmgard Grimm, now in Halle an der Saale, Germany, when I had the privilege of introducing her to the complexities and perplexities of the imagery of the temple, its symbolry and cult. The assistance she generously offered was gratefully accepted and a first draft, in German, was almost completed during the summer of 1924. But it seemed inadvisable to publish the book in this form and the following summer was spent in recasting and translating it into English. As each visit to the sanctuary widened and deepened our knowledge, the new draft also failed to do justice to the wealth of material represented in the icons of the temple. Later, when I was appointed Custodian of the Far Eastern Department of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, I regained access to its rich Buddhistic collections, the growth of which I had witnessed some twenty years earlier as an apprentice. This afforded me further opportunities for study. But I was impatiently awaiting the moment when I might return to some Lamaist country. This time finally came when from July, 1930, to March, 1933, I was associated with the Sven Hedin Scientific Expeditions. Dr. Hedin immediately took a warm interest in my plan and gave it his unstinted moral and material support. The learned Swedish ethnologist, Dr. Gösta Montell, cooperated most generously in many ways. To him we are

indebted for almost all of the photographs illustrating this work. A learned lama, the Rdo-rams-pa Blo-bzang-bzang-po, a Khorchin Mongol, offered his help for the study of Tibetan and Mongolian texts. These were the circumstances under which for two and a half years, unhandicapped by routine duties, I enjoyed the congenial atmosphere of the Swedish House in Kuan-yin-ssü, East Peking. I was able to supplement my researches undertaken in Peking, the metropolis of Chinese culture, by trips to the Wu-t'ai-shan, the Holy Mountains of Lamaism in Shanhsi and to southern (Inner) Mongolia. It was natural that with these unique opportunities the obligation was felt to do more than write an illustrated catalogue of images, however useful such a catalogue may be.

The Yung-ho-kung is more than a dead monument of a great era. Though it has outlived its own fame, it is still replete with proud reminiscences of days when emperors descended from their yellow sedan-chairs and ascended the marble steps with their splendid retinue to present offerings to the gilt images of the Buddhas they had donated, and inmates of the Imperial zenana left their seclusion to seek consolation and advice from the saintly lamas. In spite of spoliations and lootings by foreign conquerors and rapacious natives the statues and paintings which still crowd the sixteen halls are yet the object of the most elaborate worship witnessed in our time. Solemn rites, though fewer in number and on a more modest scale than those performed before the infamous »Boxer« campaign, were, and are, still held rather regularly. At the time of my studying them they had just experienced a revival owing to the presence of the Panchen Lama, His Serene Holiness (Skyabs-mgon Rin-po-che), the Grand Lama of Tashilhunpo (Bkra-çis-lhun-po), Dge-legs-rnam-rgyal. A description and classification of the icons which in a bewildering variety of shapes fill the halls are useful and necessary in order to clarify the evolution of the most complex mythology we know. But that would not do justice to their primary and chief function as objects of worship and instruments (Sanskrit *yantra*) of religious aspiration. I therefore set out to record their function in the services, their relation to the worshipper, in brief their devotional value.

It was felt that a sojourn in one of the famous monasteries in Mongolia or still better in Tibet itself would have offered a more favorable environment, but this was not feasible. On the other hand the cooperation of some of the lamas of the Yung-ho-kung offered with the tacit permission of their superiors as well as the library facilities of Peking were factors which encouraged me to give at least specimens representative of some of the major ceremonies and to demonstrate their close connections with the images in the light of the liturgical texts. These are exclusively in composed Tibetan. Poor blockprints of them bristling with errors are sold in Peking, some are only in manuscripts of no better quality. For quite a few there exist translations in Mongolian. The average lama is, however, unable to explain them, as his training is usually limited to a more or less correct way of chanting them

at the services. I found only one lama, the above mentioned Rdo-rams-pa, who was both capable and willing to interpret them, but from various sordid motives — religious scruples did not seem to weigh heavily upon him — he not infrequently withheld information from or even wilfully misled his layman disciple. It is hoped, however, that through a labyrinth of errors some degree of factual truth was eventually reached.

My return to Germany, in 1933, and my acceptance of a professorship in Oriental Languages at the University of California at Berkeley, in 1935, interrupted these studies, but during a brief stay in Stockholm during the summer of 1938 I had the opportunity of refreshing my memory in daily contact with objects acquired by Sven Hedin and Dr. Gösta Montell during their sojourn in China.

Since the time when I started my studies in and on the Yung-ho-kung, a considerable amount of work has been done by others on similar lines under more favorable conditions. Recognition of my indebtedness to them will be given in due place.<sup>1</sup>)

The whole work is planned to be in four volumes. This first volume deals with the Entrance Courts, Halls I and II, and Court IV. The second volume will comprise Halls III to VIII, the third Halls IX to XVI. The fourth volume will give a general introduction into Lamaist cult, iconography, etc., with a detailed analytical index. Numerous pictures taken *in situ* and supplemented from the rich Sven Hedin Collections will illustrate the text.

The indulgence of the reader is asked for inconsistencies in spelling, etc. They were unavoidable in view of the discrepancies between American and English spelling and the difficulties of proof-reading, caused by the distance between the places of writing and printing and by the war conditions.

The Prussian Kultusministerium at the recommendation of the Director General of the Prussian Museums, Professor Otto Kümmel granted me a leave of absence during the years 1930—1933, the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft gave me a Research Grant for pursuing my studies in China in 1930. The University of California gave me a Research Grant in 1940 for the purpose of preparing part of my material for publication. To all these organizations I wish to express heartfelt thanks.

I am glad to acknowledge my gratitude to Mrs. Irmgard Grimm, with whom the idea of writing this book originated, to Dr. Sven Hedin without whose active support it probably would never have seen the light, to Dr. Gösta Montell who spared neither time nor effort in watching the ceremonies and taking the photographs and seeing the proofs through the press, to Dr. Yu Dawchyan who helped

<sup>1</sup> Professor Giuseppe Tucci has presented us, besides numerous articles, with his excellent three volumes of *Indo-Tibetica* (Rome, 1933—36), based on studies in western Tibet. To Dr. Wilhelm Filchner we owe very important new information derived from observations made by him in another sojourn in Kumbum (Sku-hbum). They are incorporated in his second book on that famous monastery: *Kumbum Dschamba Ling* (Leipzig, 1933). Professor L. Ligeti has promised us the results of his intensive studies in Lamaist cult made in Mongolia 1928—1931.

me with his excellent knowledge of Tibetan, to Dr. Gustav Ecke who cooperated in many ways, to Dr. Otto Mänchen for his valuable contribution, to Professor Peter A. Boodberg for many appreciable suggestions, and to other friends who gave encouragement by their sincere interest.

Warmest thanks are due to Dr. Bernd Melchers, now in Kassel (Germany), for many valuable suggestions received from him during five years of fruitful association in Tsinanfu (1914—1919), for the architectural plan surveyed and drawn by him which he was kind enough put at my disposal for this book, and for some photographs. The idea of explaining the arrangement of the imagery in the individual halls by graphs originated with my daughter, Mrs. Brunhild Körner, who is also responsible for their execution. Professor Ernest Gibson, of the University of California, helped me considerably with the wording of some of the poetical translations, Mrs. Irene Schierlitz in preparing some parts of the English draft.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to Mr. Susumu Nakamura, assistant to the Department of Oriental Languages of the University of California for valuable suggestions and help in locating texts; and to Mrs. Carlton Kendall, Secretary to the Department, to whose enthusiasm, zeal and circumspection is due the fact that ambiguities have been removed, duplications eliminated, and uniformity in Romanization and spelling maintained.

I could not conclude these remarks without remembering with deep gratitude the warm encouragement given to me by my wife.

Berkeley, June 1941.

*Ferdinand D. Lessing.*

## TRANSLITERATION

The transliteration of Oriental words has been simplified by retaining only such diacritical marks as are necessary for the reconstruction of the original spelling.

A number of technical terms, particularly of Sanskrit origin, are left without diacritics in the context as their exact spelling will be clear to the philologists and irrelevant to those not familiar with the language concerned.

The indulgence of the reader is requested for a number of inconsistencies which, defying all vigilance, have crept into the text due to the peculiar conditions under which this book has to go through the press. The transliteration adopted for Chinese words is that of H. A. Giles' Chinese-English Dictionary, Second Edition, 1912, and for Japanese the Romaji. The Romanization of Sanskrit represents the most widely used system with slight modifications as shown in the transliteration chart. In Tibetan Sarat Chandra Das' dictionary has been followed (also with minor alterations) in spite of the fact that his system of transcription is not entirely



satisfactory. In transcribing Mongolian and Manchu words certain deviations from the current systems have been made for the benefit of the average English reader.

The simplified chart of transliterations shows the approximate sound value of letters, the pronunciation of which may prove difficult. Vowels and diphthongs have the same sound as in German and Italian, excepting the cases indicated in the chart. A dash over a vowel is used in the transcription of Sanskrit, Pali, and Japanese words to mark their length. The word »same» indicates that the sound required is identical with that described in the preceding column, a blank, that the letter or letters do not occur in the Romanization of the language concerned.

Wherever feasible, long Sanskrit compounds have been broken up into their constituents as a help towards their analysis. Chinese and Tibetan syllables forming one word have been connected by hyphens as customary, except in cases of familiar words (Shantung, Dalai Lama). Sino-Japanese words have no hyphen (e. g. *Nehan*).

In Tibetan no distinction has been made between prefix and root. The Tibetan words will appear in the Index according to the order of the letters in the English alphabet. No special signals have been used for the Mongolian Galik letters.

#### Abbreviations Used

Ch. stands for Chinese	Ma. stands for Manchu
E. » » English	P. » » Pali
F. » » French	S. » » Sanskrit
G. » » German	Sp. » » Spanish
J. » » Japanese	T. » » Tibetan
M. » » Mongolian	

S. E. M. stands for Statens Etnografiska Museum, Stockholm (The Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, Stockholm).

Letter	Sanskrit and Pali	Tibetan	Mongolian	Manchu	Chinese	Japanese
bh	<i>b</i> aspirated, i. e. <i>b</i> plus distinct <i>h</i> following immediately					
c	<i>ch</i> in «church», not aspirated	same	same, in some dialects: <i>ts</i> (cf. <i>j</i> )	E. <i>ch</i>		
ç	palatal <i>s</i> (E. <i>sh</i> ) cf. <i>sh</i>	same (cf. <i>sh</i> )				
ch	same as <i>c</i> , but strongly aspirated	same			before <i>a, e, o, u</i> : E. <i>ch</i> in «church» unaspirated; before <i>i</i> and <i>ü</i> : similar to E. <i>j</i> in «jingle» (foremost part of tongue acts against alveoli)	E. <i>ch</i>
ch'					same as Ch. <i>ch</i> , but aspirated	
dh	<i>d</i> plus <i>h</i> (cf. <i>bh</i> )					
ds			Romanized by <i>j</i> (cf. <i>j</i> )			
ḍ	retroflexive <i>ḍ</i> (tip of tongue turning backward to roof of mouth)					
ḍh	<i>ḍ</i> aspirated (cf. <i>bh</i> )					
e			similar to G. <i>ä</i> , F. <i>ai</i> in «mais»			
ê					the <i>e</i> in G. «Gabe»	
g	E. <i>g</i>	same	prepalatal <i>g</i> (cf. <i>h</i> )	same		E. <i>g</i>
gh	<i>g</i> aspirated (cf. <i>bh</i> )		postpalatal <i>gh</i> (cf. <i>hh</i> ; <i>h</i> does not necessarily indicate aspiration here)			
g'y		represents <i>g</i> plus <i>y</i> written with separate letters				
h	E. <i>h</i> , sounded also before consonants	«a-chung», silent; has been omitted between vowels		G. post-palatal <i>ch</i> in «ach»	at beginning of word as in Manchu; at end: silent	
ḥ	«visarga», after vowels, diphthongs. G. <i>ch</i> in «ach»					
h (i. e. h. underlined)		E. <i>h</i>				
hs					before <i>i, ü</i> : medio-palatal spirant, <i>ch</i> in G. «ich»	
ih					approx. <i>e</i> in G. «Tasche»	

Letter	Sanskrit and Pali	Tibetan	Mongolian	Manchu	Chinese	Japanese
j	E. <i>j</i>	same	same, optional <i>ds</i> (cf. <i>c</i> )	E. <i>j</i>	<i>s</i> in «pleasure» <i>j</i> in F. «jeu»	E. <i>j</i>
jh	E. <i>j</i> aspirated (cf. <i>bh</i> )	same				
kh	<i>k</i> aspirated (cf. <i>bh</i> )	same	G. postpalatal <i>ch</i> in «ach» (cf. <i>gh</i> and Ma. <i>h</i> )	same		
k'					<i>k</i> aspirated, = S. <i>kh</i>	
m	E. <i>ng</i> . Dot has been omit- ted where superfluous					
n	velar <i>n</i> before <i>k</i> , <i>kh</i> , <i>g</i> , <i>gh</i> = E. <i>ng</i> . Dot omitted where superfluous					
ñ	before vowels as E. <i>ny</i> , Sp. <i>ñ</i> . Before <i>c</i> , <i>ch</i> , <i>j</i> , <i>jh</i> simplified to <i>n</i> .	in T. transcrip- tions replaced by <i>ny</i>				
ō			G. <i>ō</i> in «Mörder», F. <i>ou</i> in «beur- re».			
o				E. <i>oo</i> in «too»		
ph	aspirated <i>p</i> (cf. <i>bh</i> ) never <i>f</i> .	same				
p'					as S. <i>ph</i>	
s	(«sharp») always voiceless as in «sound»	same	same	same	same	same
sh	retroflexive <i>s</i> (cf. <i>ḍ</i> )	like Ch. <i>j</i>	E. <i>sh</i>	E. <i>shi</i>	E. <i>sh</i>	E. <i>sh</i>
shṭ, shṭh	cf. <i>ṣ</i> , <i>ṭh</i>					
ṭ	retroflexive <i>t</i> (cf. <i>ḍ</i> ). Dia- critic omitted after <i>sh</i>					
ṭh	same as <i>ṭ</i> but aspirated. Diacritic omitted after <i>sh</i>					
t'					as S. <i>th</i>	
th	<i>t</i> plus <i>h</i> (cf. <i>bh</i> ), not E. <i>th</i>	same				
ts		<i>t</i> plus <i>s</i> , G. <i>z</i> , not aspirated	Romanized by <i>c</i> , (cf. <i>c</i> )		same	
tsh		<i>ts</i> aspirated (cf. <i>bh</i> )				
ts'					as T. <i>tsk</i>	
ü					approx. <i>e</i> in G. «Tatze»	
ü			G. <i>ü</i> . F. <i>u</i>		same	
y	E. <i>y</i> in «year»	same	same <sup>1)</sup>	same	same	same
v		«wa-zur» (after consonants), silent	same	same	same	same
w		E. <i>w</i>	same	same	same	same
'		silent, basis for initial vowels				
z		E.	same			

<sup>1)</sup> Sometimes used to represent the modern pronunciation of a reduced vowel between G. *ō* and G. *ü* made without rounding the lips.

# SYNOPSIS OF HALLS AND COURTS

Number of Hall or Court	Name	Chief Deities Discussed	Rites and Objects Described
C. III.			Tetraglot Dedicatory Inscription by <i>Ch'ien-lung</i>
H. I.	T'ien-wang-tien, »Hall of the Deva Kings»	Pu-tai-ho-shang. Lokapālas. Skanda	Phar-phyin-sdom. Rite of the »Deva Kings»
C. IV. (1)			Tetraglot Inscription by <i>Ch'ien-lung</i> , Justifying his Policy towards Lamaism
H. II.	Tantra Hall	Cycle of Guhyasamāja and Samvara	G'yang-hgug; Mandala of Samvara
C. IV. (2)			Homa Offering
H. III.	Yung-ho-kung, »Palace of Eternal Harmony»	Cycle of Čākya-muni, The Mānushibuddhas. The Thirty-five Buddhas of Confession. The Arhats	Confession of Sins
H. IV.	Emci Hall, »Hall of the Physician»	Bhaishajyaguru, the »Master of Healing»	Ritual of the Buddha of Healing
H. V.	Yung-yu-tien, »Hall of Eternal Divine Help»	Amitābha. The Dhyānibuddhas	Ritual for Obtaining Longevity
H. VI.	Tung-p'ei-tien, »Eastern Side Hall»	The Five Great Dharmapālas (except Yamāntaka, see Hall XI)	Bskang-gsao
H. VII.	Fa-lun-tien, »Hall of Turning the Law»	Tsong-kha-pa	Recitation of the Suvarṇa-prabhāsa Sūtra
H. VIII.	Chao-fo-lou, Palace of the »Splendor of the Buddha»	The Sandalwood Buddha	»Wheel of Life»
H. IX.	Wan-fu-ko, Hall of »All Blessings»	Maitreya	Some Minor Rites. Religious dances and Processions
H. X.	Sui-ch'eng-tien, »Hall of the Completion of Peace»	Cycle of Tārā	Invocation of Various Forms of Tārā
H. XI.	Yamāntaka's Palace	Yamāntaka	Cult of Yamāntaka
H. XII.	P'u-sa-tien, »Hall of the Bodhisattvas»	Avalokiteśvara. Samantabhadra. Mañjuśrī	
H. XIII.	Wu-shêng-tien, »Hall of the War God»	Kuan Ti	Cult of Kuan Ti in Lamaism
H. XIV.	Hsi-p'ei-tien, »Western Side Hall»	The Eight Great Bodhisattvas	
H. XV.	Dus-hkhor Sgra-nyan-dngags, »Kālacakra's Hall of Grammar and Poetry»	Kālacakra. Vajrapāṇi. Haya-grīva.	Legend and Iconography of Lalita-vajra
H. XVI.	Mtshan-nyid Hall, »Hall of Theology and Philosophy»	Simhavaktrā Cycle, The Dākinīs	Chos-grva Disputation

# Y U N G - H O - K U N G

## GENERAL REMARKS

**T**he Chinese name of the temple which constitutes the subject of the studies presented in this work is »Palace of Harmony», *Yung-ho-kung* 雍和宮. The first syllable *yung*, represents the first syllable of the »style» under which the Emperor *Yung-chêng* 雍正 ruled (1723—1735). He had resided here for thirty years prior to his accession to the throne. Having become Emperor, he changed the modest *Yung-ti* (邸 *ti* meaning the residence of an Imperial prince or a tributary king) into the more solemn *Yung-ho-kung*. *Kung* may designate either an Imperial palace or a Taoist temple. Its use here in designating a Lamaist temple is exceptional and accounted for by historical reasons, cf. Hall III.

The temple grounds are situated in the north-east angle of the Manchu City of Peking. They occupy an area of approximately 365×140 metres, and are located at the northern end of a straight, wide thoroughfare which begins at the easternmost of the three huge gates piercing the south wall of the Manchu city, the *Ch'ung-wên-mên* 崇文門 or, in popular parlance, *Ha-ta-mên* 哈達門. The section of this street which lies north of its intersection with the large west-east avenue (connecting the historical bell and drum towers with the *Tung-chih-mên* 東直門 at the point called *Pei-hsin-ch'iao* 北新橋, famous in Pekinese folklore) is now called *Yung-ho-kung* Street (*Yung-ho-kung ta-chieh* 雍和宮大街).

This district is replete with captivating historical reminiscences. In the immediate neighbourhood of the *Yung-ho-kung* we have the *Po-lin-ssü*, 柏林寺, a Chinese Buddhist temple with a rare atmosphere of seclusion and quiet. In the north-east corner we find the Russian Cathedral and Mission, witnesses of more than two hundred and fifty years of European-Chinese relations. Across the street the noble temple of Confucius tells the tale of two thousand five hundred years of Chinese civilization. The adjacent *Kuo-tzū-chien* 國子監, or National Academy, perpetuates in its inscription slabs the memory of thousands of successful competitors in the highest examinations of the nation. The *Yung-ho-kung* itself is a vast storehouse in which religious fervour and imagination express themselves in forms ranging from the sublime to the debased. *Les extrêmes se touchent.*

In these surroundings, the traveller in former years, down to the end of the



Manchu dynasty, could obtain a glimpse of the alluring charm of Ancient China. Here representatives of the motley peoples settling in this vast Empire or near its borders gathered together. Here were located the hostelries and caravan-saries (*hsia-ch'u* 下處, or *tien* 店), where, especially at the New Year or at other religious festivals, Mongols from Urga, Kiakhta, and Kobdo, Buryats from the Baikal lake, Kalmucks from the Volga river, Manchus from Tsitsikhar, Tanguts from the Kuku-nor, Tibetans from Lhasa, and occasionally even the »brown little Gurkhas« from Nepal, bustled and jostled. Only the orthodox Mohammedans seemed to shun that area of idolatrous abominations. One could see a great variety in dress, head-gear, and ornaments, of which the natives, particularly their women, of those distant regions were proud. A few initiated could distinguish the various nationalities by their shoes and boots, their long caftan-like garments, their hats, caps, and hoods, but particularly by the hairdress and the coral and turquoise ornaments worn by the women.

Those days are gone.

The attitude of the Republican Government (since 1912) towards this »hot-bed of superstition and immorality« was indifferent, if not hostile. It is true that after this time, a huge statue of *Tsong-kha-pa* was erected to give, belatedly, the chief hall (No. VII) its appropriate adornment, and during the last decade down to about 1932 when the Panchen Lama resided in North China there was a short interval of revival. Considerable repairs were undertaken, services which had been abolished on account of the heavy expenditures involved were revived, and again »clouds of incense and harmonies of litanies« rose into the blue skies smiling down upon the pageant of Peking. But with the death of the Panchen Lama this brief interlude ended. Whether forever, or not, remains to be seen.

Not long after the proclamation of the Republic, the temple acquired to some degree the status of a museum, this with a view to relieving its financial distress. It is now open to visitors, even during service, upon payment of a moderate admission fee.

# THE THREE ENTRANCE COURTS

## COURT I

Turning to the right (east) we enter through a small side-door and pass through a wooden gate the upper part of which is made of lattice-work. Immediately behind this gate there is a Chinese archway (*p'ai-lou* 牌樓 or *p'ai-fang* 牌坊) with three apertures (Pl. I). Due to its proximity to the gate, much of its impressiveness is lost. The archway bears two Chinese inscriptions. The one facing east reads:

十地圓通  
*Shih-ti yüan-t'ung*

which may be translated as »Perfect Realization of the Ten Stages» (of Bodhisattvahood). This may imply that the temple contains gods and saints belonging to all the ten stages leading to perfect enlightenment and that its inmates as well as its visitors shall become participant in it.

The inscription on the opposite side (facing west) says:

福銜金沙  
*Fu-hsien chin-sha*

»The merits contained (in this sacred place are numerous as the sand in the) Gold-sand (River, mentioned in the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra*).»

This is possibly an allusion to the »Gold-sand River», S. Hiraṇyavati, in Nepal, where according to the legend *Çākyamuni* entered *Nirvāṇa*. The merits or, as we would say, blessings of this temple would be comparable to those of the river which witnessed the solemn finale of the Buddha's career. Both inscriptions, however, may be explained as prayers: »May I attain to the ten stages of Bodhisattvahood». — »May I obtain merits as numerous as the sand in the Gold-sand River<sup>1a</sup>».

This first court which covers an area of about 70 × 34 metres has a similar entrance on its western side, leading to the famous temple *Po-lin-ssü* 柏林寺. In front of it there is an analogous archway with inscriptions.

The general idea expressed by the inscription facing east

四衢淨闢  
*Ssü-ch'ü ching p'i*

seems to be clear: »The Four Roads are Pure and Wide-open». But it is not

easy to account for the meaning of the individual characters. Taking the first two as equivalent to *ssü-ch'u* 四出, the four directions, the world, the phrase may mean that purity or sanctity are accessible from everywhere and it may be intended to be a friendly gesture to the monks in the neighbouring temple *Po-lin-ssü*, conceding that they also have something to offer in the way of salvation. But it seems more likely that the words have been chosen as a contrast to a line written by the famous *Shên Yüeh* 沈約 (441—513, Giles, Biographical Dictionary No. 1072), quoted in the *P'ei-wên-yün-fu* under *ch'ü*, 衢, *chüan* 7a: *Ssü-ch'ü-tao nan p'i, ju-cheng-fei yu yên* 四衢道難關入正扉猶掩.

»The path of the four roads is difficult to open and the door of entering the right path or *samādhi* is like (or still) closed». If this assumption be correct, one should translate: »The four roads (i. e. all the roads of salvation) lay open before our eyes». The word *ch'ü*, standing for road, is very deliberately chosen; it signifies an allconnecting road, leading to any desired point.

The opposite inscription reads:

慈隆寶葉  
*T'zū lung pao-yeh*

»(His) love (*maitri*) abounds (in the) precious leaves», i. e. »The sacred scriptures abound in evidence of his love». This may refer especially to *Maitreya*, whose huge statue adorns Hall IX.<sup>1b</sup>

Turning north, an oblong enclosure is to be seen, which leads to the sixteen temple halls. On the southern side of Court I there is a »shadow-wall» (*ying-peï*) which faces the third huge archway leading to Court II (Pl. II, 1).<sup>1c</sup>

This archway is flanked by two large marble lions. The one on the right of the observer, which is supposed to be male, is playing with an embroidered ball under his right foot, whilst the female counterpart is suckling cubs from its claws. Various traditions exist as to the meaning of this group. According to one, the ball contains another cub. »Lions playing with a ball (*êrh-shih kun hsiu-ch'iu* 二獅滾繡球)», may have developed from the familiar motif of the two dragons playing with a pearl (Pl. III).<sup>1d</sup>

It is interesting to note how closely the characteristic details of these lions correspond to the description of the ideal lion contained in *Pên-t'sao chi-chieh* 本草集解. »His head should be large, his tail small. He should have a copper (or bronze) head and an iron forehead, claws like hooks and teeth like a saw, pointed ears, a high nose, and his eyes should flash like lightning».

The fact that in the Far East, where he was little known, the lion was regarded as a species of huge dog may be the reason why we see him almost invariably represented with a collar, from which frequently a bell is suspended. Pun-loving Chinese are inclined to see in it an allusion to his supposedly fabulous strength (*ling* 鈴 bell homophonous with *ling* 靈 »supernatural», »magic», etc.).

These lions are placed on elaborately carved marble bases over which a carved marble rug is spread. The rug is reproduced in all detail even to the corner weights which are marble cash. These coins are called *ya-sui-ch'ien* 壓崇錢, where 崇 puns with 歲.<sup>10</sup> The *p'ai-lous* or gate-ways remind us of the Indian *toranas*, from which they may have derived. Like the *toranas* they consist of three openings, the central aperture is elevated, and the longitudinal beams protrude from both ends.

To this simple wooden skeleton is added a double roof and a complex bracketing system, similar to those in real hall structures. The roofs, designed evidently to protect the wooden structure from the influences of the weather, consist here and elsewhere of alternate convex and concave tiles of Imperial yellow and are adorned with the rosette and lotus designs.

For the strange figures (*k'uei-lung-tzŭ*) 夔龍子 on the ridges of the roofs see Hall I. The inscription on this archway (facing south) reads

海寰尊親  
*Hai-huan tsun-ch'in*

»(If the people within) the (four) seas respect (their) parents».

On the opposite side we read:

羣生仁壽  
*Ch'ün-shêng jên-shou*

»(Then) all beings (will be possessed of) humaneness and longevity».

These concepts of humaneness and longevity are coupled together in numberless sentences of Confucianist coinage and there is no very definite Buddhist ring about them. But Buddhism recommended itself to the nation of filial piety by especially emphasizing that in the chain of endlessly recurring reincarnations, all beings have at least once been father or mother to us and that therefore by contributing towards the deliverance of all beings, we indirectly benefit our own parents.

These inscriptions prepare us, so to speak, for that elaborate eulogy chiselled on the marble block at the end of the next court.

In passing we may notice a curious stupa (pagoda) with a gilt image of Buddha *Amitābha*. It was erected in memory of the Japanese soldiers killed during the Boxer Rebellion in 1900.

## COURT II

The third archway marks the entrance into another long, narrow courtyard which measures 84×42 metres (Court II on plan).

At both sides of this long avenue, which is enclosed by pink walls, we find the lamas' quarters in various stages of preservation. The number of lamas is at present a mere fraction of what it was even in 1907, when the writer visited



the sanctuary for the first time, and many of the little houses with their snug gardens are now allowed to decay (cf. Pl. IV, 1).

Two or more lamas of the lowest rank occupy one small room, while those of somewhat higher rank have private rooms, and the prosperous priests, who possess property near the capital or in Mongolia, have three to five rooms with a courtyard enclosed by high walls at their disposal. Lamas of the higher grades own a compound with every desirable comfort, with novices and priests to serve them, and even private chapels with a staff of lamas to carry out a heavy schedule of religious services.

A comparatively large temple is reserved for the *Adsa*, *Akya* or *Aja-fo-ye*, i. e. *Tsong-kha-pa's* father. He is supposed to reincarnate himself in the Khutukhtu («Living Buddha») of *Dolon-nor* in Inner Mongolia. As a rule, such a sanctuary should be attached to all the larger temples of the Yellow Church. No permission could be obtained to study that interesting temple, but the sound of drums accompanying the chanting of hymns indicated that regular services were held there. About this institution and its organization little information could be found in European sources (Pl. IV, 2).<sup>2a</sup>

In one of these courtyards is located the «Well of the Nāgas» (serpent demons), which symbolizes the «World-Ocean». It is here that the remnants of mandalas are disposed of before the sun rises (see Hall IV).

The Emperor *Ch'ien-lung* had an Imperial Lodge (*Hsing-kung*) built where he retired whenever he visited the temple, and where he prepared himself for his ritual duties when he offered the customary sacrifice to his deceased father. A private temple, a library (the *Ta-ho-chai* 大和齋) and a «porridge kitchen», the *Chou-kuo-yüan* 粥鍋院 «porridge kettle court» were attached to it. Following an old custom based on the commandment of almsgiving inculcated by Buddhism, the famous «Yung-ho-kung porridge of the Eighth Day of the Twelfth Moon» (*Yung-ho-kung-ti La-pa-chou* 臘八粥) was once a year prepared and distributed here. The expenses were defrayed by contributions received from the Imperial Court, Mongol princes, and other pious laymen.<sup>2b</sup>

These buildings with the garden were situated to the east of the halls. They burned down about thirty years ago. There was recently a plan to build a vihara (*Ch'ieh-lan* 伽藍) on the site (see Hall I), but it did not materialize for lack of funds.

Returning to the avenue we observe strips of varicoloured cloth arranged as garlands between the many trees lining it. They are imprinted with Tibetan and sometimes ornamental *Lan-tsha* characters. The texts consist mostly of *dhāraṇīs* (spells) in Sanskrit, representing invocations for protection, good luck, etc. Others are covered with «mystic drawings». In Western books they are called prayer-flags; the Tibetan term is *dar-lcog*.<sup>3</sup> They are renewed every year on the fourth day of the fourth moon. Such charms are also found above the gates and doors in the lamas' living quarters and in front of the temple-halls.

On the other side of this court the *Fo-ts'ang* 佛倉 »Buddha store-houses» are located. They were used for storing images, holy utensils, and other temple equipment. The writer was not permitted to inspect them. It is probable that they no longer contain anything of value; soldiers, lamas, and souvenir hunters have cooperated successfully for years in depriving them of all real and supposed treasures.

Part of the space occupied by the treasure houses has been let to private tenants. The Bureau of Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs, following the modern trend of imitating Western charitable institutions, started a pharmacy on the premises, where free treatment was given to the infirm. Thus they revived, consciously or unconsciously, old Buddhist charitable activities. What a boon it might have become to the Mongols and particularly to the lamas, had it been managed with some measure of efficiency. But it was soon discontinued, only the sign-board remaining.

Near this institution lived the Chinese artist *Kuo* 郭, a painter of Lamaist pictures. To the writer's knowledge he was the last artist to paint acceptable, though not exactly artistic, miniatures. He died a premature death several years ago, but his work survives in some paintings preserved in the temple, in many miniatures now adorning the altars of felt tents in the Mongolian steppe, and in a number of drawings reproduced in this book.

### COURT III

The transition from Court II to the next one (the first temple court) is marked by another tripartite gate, called *Chao-t'ai-mên* 昭泰門, literally: »Illuminating-lofty». Studying this appellation in the light of the long inscription translated below, it seems to mean that *Ch'ien-lung* in dedicating the temple to the manes of his father wished to serve him in the same »illuminated way» as *Yung-chêng* had served his own father in converting places sanctified by events in *K'ang-hsi's* life into places of religious service. The Tibetan, Mongolian, and Manchu versions of these gate inscriptions give us, as is generally the case, only the »face value», so to speak, of the Chinese characters. They read:

T. *Hod-lan bde-bai sgo*

M. *Gereltü amughulang egüde*

Ma. *Genggiyen elhengge duka*

which mean: Gate of Resplendent Bliss.

If we happen to enter this court (80×45 metres) during important festivals, our eye will be caught by enormously long, narrow, brown temple flags, inscribed with Chinese characters, hanging from two huge flag-poles (Pls. V, I and VI).

In the immediate neighbourhood of these flag-poles are what may be called

counterparts to our steeples, the bell-tower (E) and the drum-tower (W). Their construction here reminds us of the analogous structures in the *P'u-ning-ssü* 普甯寺 in Jehol (Pl. V, 1).<sup>4</sup>

The buildings rise from a square terrace, to which four steps lead. An open portico, formed by  $4 \times 3$  wooden columns, rising in groups of three at each corner, supports the beams on which the roof rests. Brackets with a cloud design (symbolizing pillars supporting the vault of the sky?) fill the interstices formed by each corner column with its neighbouring columns. The base of the walls is a soft yellow-white marble, the upper half is constructed of brick with a dark-red plaster coating. The entrance door is vaulted, thus forming a beautiful contrast to the rigidly vertical and horizontal lines.

The superstructures are of wood. The use of this material may be intended to add to the acoustic effect.

The roof is a combination of the gable and the hip roof, as we have it under the name of *irimoya* 入母屋 in so many Japanese temples. The bell is dated the 20th year of *Ch'eng-hua* 成化, 1484. The writer could find no record of its provenance.<sup>5\*</sup>

The bell is struck to summon the monks to the major services. The sound of its solemn boom soon after midnight under the starred sky of North China makes an unforgettable impression. There is no signal for the daily routine service. For other services the signal is given by the mellow but far-reaching sounds of the white conch-shell, sometimes in combination with the bell. The drum located in the opposite »tower« is used with much less frequency.

North of the bell-tower and the drum-tower and analogous to them we have two identical octagonal buildings (Pl. V, 2). They flank the bronze lions placed on both sides (Pls. V, 2 and VIII) of the flight of steps which leads into Hall I of the temple. A span-roof is superimposed on the lean-to roof. The corner ribs of both roofs are decorated with fantastic animals, as usual. Here, as in all the other yellow roofs, we find end-tiles showing masks of monsters. They are therefore popularly called demon-tiles (*kuei-wa* 鬼瓦; the technical word used in the inscription translated below is *méng* 甍). Each of these two buildings shelters an enormous marble slab, the front of which is covered with an inscription in four languages, Chinese, Manchu, Mongol, and Tibetan. The Chinese and Manchu texts are in the eastern, the Mongolian and Tibetan in the western pavilion.

The following translation has been made after the splendid collection of inscriptions published by O. Franke and B. Laufer: *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus China, erster Teil* (Berlin 1914), Mappe I, plates 2 and 3. It is not intended to be technical and therefore limits its explanations to adding supplementary phrases and words, and a few annotations. In several cases the simpler wording of the Manchu text has been followed. A fuller critical discussion of this document and the large inscription in the next court is reserved for another occasion.

## INSCRIPTION OF THE *YUNG-HO-KUNG*

His Majesty, Our Deceased Father, was graciously appointed Heir Apparent with his residence in the *Yung* Palace which is situated in the North-East corner of the Capital near the Great Academy. After He had succeeded to the throne and taken the sceptre of sovereignty, He bestowed upon his former residence the name of Palace of Harmony and Peace («Yung-ho-kung»). In order to show that He cherished the memory of his ancient residence He installed an office to care for the necessary upkeep and repairs, without, however, adding any structures to it.

In the year *I-mao* (1735) His Majesty, Our Father, mounted the dragon (-chariot), (being taken from us by) merciless Heaven. He became a guest on high, leaving behind him (those who tried to) cling to (the dragon's) beard. When the preparatory rites had been performed and (the Imperial coffin) was (temporarily) conducted (into a funeral hall until the tomb was constructed), considering that this place had been the residence where Our August Father had lived (as the) hidden (dragon = future Emperor), lofty and tranquil, for nearly thirty years, and where His eminent Spirit still lingered in affectionate clinging, We ordered the halls to be renovated in order to receive the Palace of Lindera wood (the Imperial coffin). We had the yellow tile roofing changed, the doors and ceremonial gates widened, the entire plan somewhat perfected, until the construction of the Imperial tumulus was completed as the rites require.

Thereupon We had the image of the Imperial Spirit installed here and since that time, until the present, it is for ten years that We have performed the rites (of ancestor worship).

We, the humble son, have been perpetuating (the pedigree and doctrines of the *ch'un-tree* 椿) hall (= Our Father) longing day and night to see Him as he ascends and descends (with the Lord of Heaven as a blissful spirit). We opine that the Pool of the Dragon (= the Palace of the Heir Apparent) from where He ascended His Imperial throne is a place which should not be desecrated by allowing Our sons and grandsons who are merely concerned with (thoughts) of appanages and dignities to reside there. On the other hand if it should be left unheeded and allowed to remain unoccupied for some length of time, it would be still less capable of shedding its boundless blessings.

Our August Father serving Our August Grandfather in an illuminated way converted the places where (His father *K'ang-hsi*) had deigned to reside or sojourn leisurely for any length of time, into Buddhist fanes. So the place where He had fostered His royal qualities during His youth became the *Fu-yu-ssü* 福佑寺, the place where the tripod (= Imperial reign) was completed and He had ascended into Space was called the *En-yu-ssü* 恩佑寺. He (Our Father) remembered well the examples set (by former kings) and patterns (hallowed by) antiquity.



If We look back into the times of old, We find that the Temple of Realized Truth *Hsiu-chên-kuan* 修真觀 was originally called the Palace of the Dancing Dragon (*Lung-yüeh-kung* 龍躍宮, the appanage of Emperor) *Kao* (*Tsu* of the House of) *T'ang*. The temple which bore the name Merciful Propitious *T'zŭ-ch'ing-ssü* 慈慶寺 of (the River) *Wei* 渭 was formerly the *Ch'ing-shan-kung* 慶善宮. *Hsiang-fu-hsi-ch'ing* 祥符錫慶 of the *Sung* was the ancient *Ching-ling-kung* 景靈宮. All these residences of (dragons in) concealment (later emperors), were in fact retreats of lofty spirits (from which they were to rise in time). Thus the same idea connects thus past and present, and our own age still fosters the spirit of days gone-by.

It is for this reason that We have laid out this area as a *Jetavana* (Buddha's park), adorning it with the beauty of religious paintings, (perfuming it with) incense, (embellishing it with) banners, (bedecking it with) garlands of jewels, and installing (services with) morning chants and evening bells, selecting intelligent lamas of noble conduct to fill its halls. And so We have evidenced Our highest purity in displaying Our respect and understanding, the deepest reverence in looking up (to Our Deceased Father) and (fulfilling) the offering (rites), in order to secure the utmost abundance of blessings.

Our August Father has from the beginning devoted himself to the highest doctrines. He has realized *Nirvāṇa-samādhi* and reached the highest enlightenment (*anuttara-samyak-sambodhi*) and so extended blessings to all sentient beings and conferred benefits upon aeons (innumerable as) dust. As King *Çākyamuni*, powerful and benevolent, he has manifested himself in his real shape; all beings take their refuge in (owe their lives to) Him. Could it then suffice merely to adorn his benign countenance and to embellish this pure realm (this temple)?

We, His humble son, looke up to Him whenever We visit this place, think fondly of Him, yet with breathless awe (like Confucius' son) when passing (in front of) the hall (where his father dwelt), and with an emotion of reverence We have composed a eulogy and carved it in stone.

- i. Ah, Father Deceased,  
Boundless be your bliss.  
May your red-gated Palace last and last,  
May blessings accumulated flow like an eternal stream.  
Riding (in a chariot drawn by) six dragons you rule (in Heaven).  
May happiness emanate from here,  
Enduring harmony, concord, peace.  
So will your wise plans admirably become manifest.

2. The tripod (your reign) was completed near the lake (when you died)  
 And your August Spiritual Image was installed here.  
 Ascending, descending in Heaven,  
 Your Saintly Spirit still lingers here.  
 I seem to hear its faint sighing,  
 I seem to perceive its shadow-like countenance:  
 (This place) excels Sung's *Ching-ling-kung*,  
 It surpasses Tang's *Ching-shang-kung*.
  
3. How egregious is (your) pure enlightenment.  
 Far and wide are planted the roots of your merits.  
 Limpid is the ocean of (your) perfect realization,  
 And your transcendent wisdom is the bearer o'er the ford (of transmigration).  
 The lamp of (your) knowledge illuminates the world.  
 The jewel of the law is ever renewed,  
 As flowers are spread over the floor of jade  
 While you turn the shining golden wheel (proclaiming the Law).
  
4. Now in this Palace (with its) cinnabar (doors)  
 Once bestowed upon you as Heir Apparent (by Imperial Grace)  
 (Where) during sleeping and waking hours  
 Blessings gather and benefits accumulate,  
 (On this) terrace of incense in the world of men,  
 (In this) heaven of bliss, this domain of the gods,  
 Clouds of good augury cluster  
 And a realm of joy has been opened.
  
5. Drawing the boundaries and making new again these precincts of happiness  
 I mysteriously feel the influence of your paternal sympathy.  
 (In this temple like) the Hall of Swans (where in Buddha's time) the friars did gather,  
 This Park of the Deer where his meditating (pupils) dwelt,  
 Where fragrant flowers fall like rain,  
 Where (leaves of books like) palm leaves darken the skies like smoke,  
 (you ride in your) cloud chariot (drawn by) the horse of the wind to enjoy the pearl-mat (oblation).
  
6. Gazing up to your august virtue  
 (I see it) boundless like the lofty heaven,  
 With your mind miraculously enlightened  
 You display the power (derived from) your great vow.  
 What is temporary expediency?  
 What is ultimate reality?  
 Neither moving nor staying,  
 Change goes on through thousands of billions of eons.

7. With clouds of love all-enveloping,  
 With the sweet dew (of immortality) constantly moistening,  
 (you) entered Nirvana's vast ocean,  
 Obtaining the Wish-granting Gem.  
 Thousand-fold universes, numberless like the sands of the Ganges,  
 Share the flavour of your pure essence,  
 Which, surpassing thought, permeates our marrow, penetrates our skin.
8. Resplendent spiritual image,  
 Noble, auspicious frame,  
 To you I render honour, with you I abide,  
 Lingering, with a grieved soul.  
 (Over) the ten stages (of Bodhisattvahood) and through the Four Continents (*dvīpas*)  
 Your great bounty will flow harmoniously,  
 And all future ages  
 Will depend on its merciful blessings.

CH' IEN-LUNG, 9th year, tenth (Winter) moon  
 (November—December, 1744).

The Chinese text should, of course, be considered the original. The Manchu text follows it rather closely, the Mongol more remotely, while the Tibetan text is only in general agreement with the other three. Suspending judgment as to their comparative literary merits, one must admit that the inscription is a masterpiece of the Imperial chancery, as far as diplomacy is concerned. Each of the four chief nations united under *Ch'ien-lung's* sceptre is addressed in its own language, literally and metaphorically speaking. The Chinese text is larded with literary allusions and historical reminiscences accumulated in the course of three thousand years. In this flowery language, so dear to the heart of the Confucian scholar, the phrases teem with time-hallowed allegories and poetical metaphors, and where the prose of history ends, the eulogy of poetical diction begins. Only at times does the wording of the prose section have a genuine Buddhistic ring.

The Chinese eulogy consists of eight stanzas, each of which contains eight lines of four characters, totalling 256 characters. The second, fourth, sixth, and eighth lines of each stanza rhyme, and the rhyme never changes throughout the same stanza. It is obvious that this elaborate scheme cannot be imitated in any of the other languages. So the Manchu and the Mongol texts have their eulogies in prose, whereas the only other monosyllabic language represented in these inscriptions, Tibetan, has a very simple poetic structure in which versification is based on an equal number of syllables. When the eulogy assumes a hymnic tone, Buddhist imagery spreads out its dazzling riches. The inhabitants of the Snow-land, the Tibetans, would scarcely have appreciated at a text which was not couched in those familiar terms sanctified by usage in their own sacred scriptures.

The wording of the three non-Chinese versions is, of course, adapted to the mental structure of the peoples addressed. As the rationalistic Manchus were considered to be Chinese, from a cultural viewpoint at least, the chief deviations of the Manchu text are mere simplifications of the involved Chinese allusions. The technical language of Buddhism is almost absent here. As to the Mongols, the case was different. It was for the bigoted sons of the steppe that the brilliant pageant of the temple was displayed. In spite of century-long neighbourly relations, they had hardly been tinged by Chinese spiritual civilization. Here the embellishments of style borrowed from the arsenal of ancient Chinese lore and poetry give way to strains of thought of Buddhist character.

The Emperor narrates, then, in carefully chosen words, the story of the temple. He explains his reason and purpose in dedicating it to the Buddhist cult, without stressing the point — in the Chinese text at least — that he opens it to the lamas, a fact which excludes the cooperation of other monks. While the other versions speak directly of lamas, the Chinese text mentions (in one place only) *fan-sêng* 梵僧 »Indian (literally: Brahmanic) monks»; it does not say, then, that these »Indian monks» were to be the »despicable» Mongols.

The Chinese text is really a hymn on filial piety; it reads, in places, like a homily on the fourth commandment.

A pair of large bronze lions dating from the reign of *Ch'ien-lung*, but less majestic than the afore-mentioned marble lions, flank the steps leading up to the first temple hall (Pl. VIII).



## HALL I. HALL OF THE FOUR KINGS

The first hall, called in Chinese *T'ien-wang-tien*, the Hall of the *Devarājas* or Kings of the *Devas*, corresponds more or less to the *sgo-khang* or gate-house of a Tibetan temple.

The hall is a good example of the noble Chinese architecture, for which wood is the main, if not the only recognized classical material. The structure displays the pure style of entrance halls of the oblong rectangular *tien* 殿 type. The whole front consists of five compartments of equal size, which, with the exception of the two minor brick fillings at both ends, are made of wooden boards on which narrow lathes are closely set. An exact replica, dating from the same period, that of *Ch'ien-lung* (1736—1795), is found in the *P'u-ning-ssū* 普甯寺 in Jehol,<sup>6</sup> and we have imitations of it wholly in stone. This type of front, three doors flanked by two blind windows, is characteristic of certain entrance halls of Manchu times (Pl. VII, 3).<sup>7</sup>

An elaborate bracketing system shows the projecting ends of the closely laid rafters supporting the overhanging part of the heavy, curved, gable roof. There are several layers of such rafters, the upper extending beyond the lower. The roof is covered with glazed yellow tiles, alternately convex and concave. The privilege of using tiles of Imperial yellow was reserved entirely to temples erected by Imperial order (Ch. *ch'ih-chien* 勅建). Their colour, size, and weight was standardized. They were manufactured in the Imperial faience factories, *Liu-li-ch'ang* 琉璃場, one of the most famous of which was located west of Peking on the *Liu-li-ho* 琉璃河.

Figures representing fantastic animals, *k'uei-lung-tzū* 夔龍子 and *ch'ih-wên* 螭吻 riding on the ridges of the roof, serve both as defence magic and decorations.

Nine marble steps lead up to the substructure on which the hall is erected. Uneven or *yang* 陽 numbers are considered auspicious in Chinese mantics: moreover, the number nine is reminiscent of the nine heavens in Taoist cosmology. The individual rows of steps are divided into three sections by two rectangular marble blocks cutting them at right angles between the doors.

These are of the orthodox number, three (Ch. *san-mên* 三門) alluding to the three ways of salvation leading to Nirvana, of which the Buddhist temple is supposed to be a symbol.

The peculiar arching of the doors, reminiscent of a hexafoil, is termed »cloud-head» (*yiin-t'ou* 雲頭) in Chinese. The vortex of the arch is crowned by an elaborate scroll design (Pl. IX).

Over the central door there is a tablet with an inscription in four languages as found in the case of all the buildings centering around the central axis.

Ch. *Yung-ho-mên* 雍和門, Gate Harmony and Peace.

T. *Dgah-ldan byin-chags-sgo*, The Fascinating Gate of *Tushita* Heaven.<sup>7a</sup>

M. *Eneriltü nairamdakhu egüde*, Gate of Compassionate Harmony.

The Manchu inscription is effaced. It probably read: *Hôwaliyasun hôwaliyaka duka*, a direct translation from the Chinese.

The Mongolian inscription is also influenced by the Chinese, *Nairamdakhu Tüb* being the equivalent of Ch. *Yung-chêng* 雍正, the *nien-hao* or »year-mark» of the Manchu emperor who resided here before his succession to the throne in 1723.

The interior of this hall is divided by a wall into a large nave in front and a small cella behind. The nave is flanked by two small chapels separated from it on each side by passages leading into the rear part of the hall and through it into the second court.

This entrance hall is, as usual, constructed on a much smaller scale than most of the other buildings in these temple grounds; the size, however, is quite in proportion to its function as a mere 'vestibule' to the *sanctum sanctorum*. But considering the six statues it houses, four of which are of large dimensions, one cannot help seeing that in this respect its size is inadequate.

Examining the coffered ceiling, we notice that the lower longitudinal beams cut into the columns which support the upper longitudinal beams on which it rests. The upper beams again are supported by ornamental brackets, which rise from the centre of the lower beams. The throne with the principal image is placed against a plain wall which was originally black.

## IMAGERY OF HALL I

When entering, we naturally look first towards the centre of the Hall where we hope to encounter some exalted deity of noble bearing whose very appearance would prepare us for greater revelations to come. Instead of this we discover an almost dwarfish image of disproportionate growth, a caricature of a monk, as we

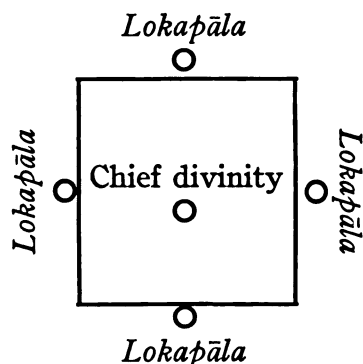
should infer from his bald pate, or perhaps a mere court-jester to the gods, judging by the broad smile shining over his somewhat coarse features. He seems to be attended by four giants looming up against the east and west walls, with crowns indicating princely rank, martial faces expressing undaunted courage, heavy beards reminding us of Chinese stage heroes like *Ts'ao Ts'ao* 曹操 and *Kuan Ti* 關帝 and shining armours of antique design. The roof seems to be too low to shelter them. They tower against it as if to lift and carry it away. Behind the central figure, with his back to him and separated from him by a partition, there is another divine general of smaller stature than the other four, whose mild (*çānta*) features contrast strangely with his own armour and the heroic faces of his comrades. The disparate assembly is curious enough to arrest our attention for a while, cf Pls. X—XII, 1.

It is known that many temples in North China show an identical arrangement of the statuary in the entrance hall. Yet this is not the original disposition, but is of comparatively recent date. The figure now occupying the centre is a type which in its actual individualization goes back to the Great Sung dynasty (960—1278). But before entering upon a discussion of this peculiar personage it may seem fit to present a tentative sketch of the architectural development of the house sheltering it.

The ideal form of a temple-hall would appear to be a building on a square ground plan, as presented by the bell-tower and the drum-tower, and as the Indian *vihāra* in many cases had. Such a plan would not only be most convenient for the performance of the ceremony of circumambulation (*pradakṣhiṇā*), but also the one best adapted to the symbolism that lies at the bottom of any form of religious expression, for square is the ideal shape of the earth, and particularly of *Jambudvīpa* (see Hall II, 11). This type survives e. g. in the *Ssū-mên-t'ā* 四門塔 of the *Shên-t'ung-ssū* 神通寺, near Liu-pu, 柳部 Shantung.<sup>8</sup>

The Buddha, the Earth, the Universe, they all called for some sort of protection (see H. XV A 5, *Vajrapāṇi* in Gandharan art). Their protectors in myth and cosmology were the four World-guardians (*Lokapāla*) or *Deva*-kings (*Devavarāja*). The logical place for them would have been outside the hall, occupying either of the four corners or the centre of the four walls, on the look-out for enemies who might attempt to desecrate the holy edifice. The fact that their images, statues, or paintings, or both, are found in the open vestibules of Lamaist temples in Mongolia seems to support this view.

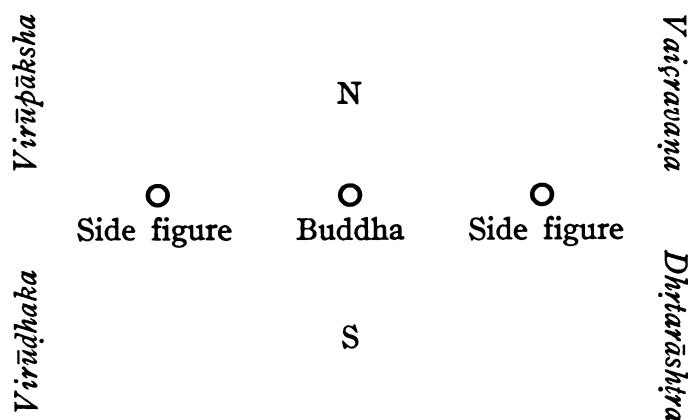
The plain sanctuary of this type may be considered as the nucleus of the composite structures of later times.



It is only natural that statues set up against the walls outside the temple had to be protected against impious hands by fences. When in later times the figures were removed inside of the hall, in order to preserve them against the inclemencies of the weather, religious conservatism erected fences here too, although there was no longer any need for them. Occasionally, however, they are seen in front of other deities also, but they have always something of an emergency construction about them, remindful of some outdoor establishment, such as a stable or shelter. This impression is very distinct in Hall XIII, where a high fence inside the building screens off the stable of *Kuan Ti*'s horse from the rest of his sanctuary.

The shifting of the Four Deva-kings into the interior of a square building presented the architect with a new problem. Their huge figures at the four corners or in the middle of the four sides of a square would have obstructed the view upon the main figure occupying the centre, from the view of the worshipper. This is, if we are not mistaken, the case in Buddhist temples in Annam.

So the ideal square ground plan of this hall had to be sacrificed for an oblong rectangle, with a disposition of the statues as it is preserved in a *Sumeru* altar (*Hsü-mi-t'an* 須彌壇) of the *Nara* period (710—784) in Japan.



The name of this altar refers to its symbolic significance. It is supposed to represent the Universe with the Buddha instead of Mount *Sumeru* forming its centre and the Four *Lokapālas* or *Devarājas* guarding it. There is, of course, no difference in essence between the symbolism expressed by an anthropomorphic Buddha and that of an inanimate object, the mountain. They are therefore interchangeable.

In passing we mention the following »classical» arrangements of the three central figures of the *Sumeru* altar:

<i>Samanta-bhadra</i>	<i>Čākyamuni</i>	<i>Manjuçrī</i>
	or	
<i>Candraṣrabha</i>	<i>Bhaishajya-guru</i>	<i>Sūryaṣrabha</i>
	or	
<i>Mahā-sthāma-prāpta</i>	<i>Amitābha</i>	<i>Avalokiteṣvara</i>

For other triads see Halls III and V.

In consequence of this change in the arrangement of the figures, the square hall was altered so as to become congruent with the oblong *tien* 殿, the basic unit of Chinese architecture. But etiquette, as expressed in creations of this architecture, imposed still further alterations. It was impossible to conceive of the Buddha, the Lord of the World, and his image, the temple, to reside among his humble guards in a kind of gatehouse. It became necessary to build a lofty hall for him in the central axis of the temple plan so he could be enthroned among his noblest disciples where he gives audience to his followers, as a king to his ministers. Now he was no longer exposed to the curiosity of casual intruders, now he could be reached only by going through a series of purifying ceremonies which made the worshipper worthy of admission into his august presence. The *Lokapālas* had to remain where they were.

But who was to take the place which the Buddha had left vacant?

Different solutions of the problem have been attempted by the various sects, and it is not within the scope of this hypothetical sketch to retrace them. The idea that this first hall should be reserved as a gatehouse (Ch. *mên-fang* 門房, T. *sgo-khang*) like those found in a Chinese official residence (*ya-mên* 衙門) or palace seems to have prevailed. One had only to draw upon the unlimited personnel of Indian Buddhist mythology to fill it with any desirable number of retainers. The first candidate presenting himself was perhaps *Hu-sêng-ch'ieh-lan-shên* 護僧伽藍神 (*Sanghārāma-pāla*?), the »Protector of the *Sanghārāma* or Temple». Originally there were eighteen individuals bearing this proud title,<sup>9</sup> but the absence of the plural sign in Chinese facilitated 'singularization'. Was not his Chinese cousin, the God of the Soil (Ch. *T'u-ti* 土地), also the One and the Many at the same time?



In all cases where *Saṅghārāma* occupied the vacant throne in the centre — and we believe that at one time this was of rather frequent occurrence — he could be presented to the Chinese worshipper as a native son of the country doing service in a Buddhist temple under a thundering Indian title. It is with the convenient dissyllabic abbreviation *Ch'ieh-lan* that he figures in Chinese popular mythology.<sup>10</sup>

Originally he may have been of a more or less distinct Indian type, probably a squat, short-limbed Yaksha, but the idea that only a native should have jurisdiction over Chinese soil may have influenced his representation so as to introduce the Chinese mandarin in official robe as he appears later.<sup>11</sup> Since then the third eye on his forehead and his Sanskrit title, which, in its abbreviated form will have sounded less foreign to a Chinese ear, were the only characteristics remindful of his foreign nationality. But since the third eye was frequently adopted by the Taoists too, both for their native and borrowed deities, it was no longer felt to be a foreign import. *Ch'ieh-lan* was particularly favoured by the followers of the *Ch'an* school.

The arrangement of the statues as sketched so far was by no means the only possible one.

We learn from the *Shih-shih-yao-lan*,<sup>12</sup> ch. 2, that a temple should have a hall for *Hārītī*, next to the one for *Ch'ieh-lan-shên*, and then one for *Pinḍola* (see *Arhats*, H. III).

How these various sanctuaries were located with regard to each other, the writer is unable to decide, but the text quoted seems to prove that only subordinate deities were to be found in the halls around the entrance gate. It was to them that the visitor had to offer incense first; in order to obtain, by their intercession, admission to the main sanctuary. In the course of time *Hārītī* (if that is the correct interpretation of the word *kuei* 鬼 demon, which would then stand for *Kuei-tzū-mu* 鬼子母 »Mother of the Demon-children») disappeared gradually from the Chinese pantheon as a distinct mythological individuality, committing her powers to one or several deities of a more native colouring.<sup>13</sup>

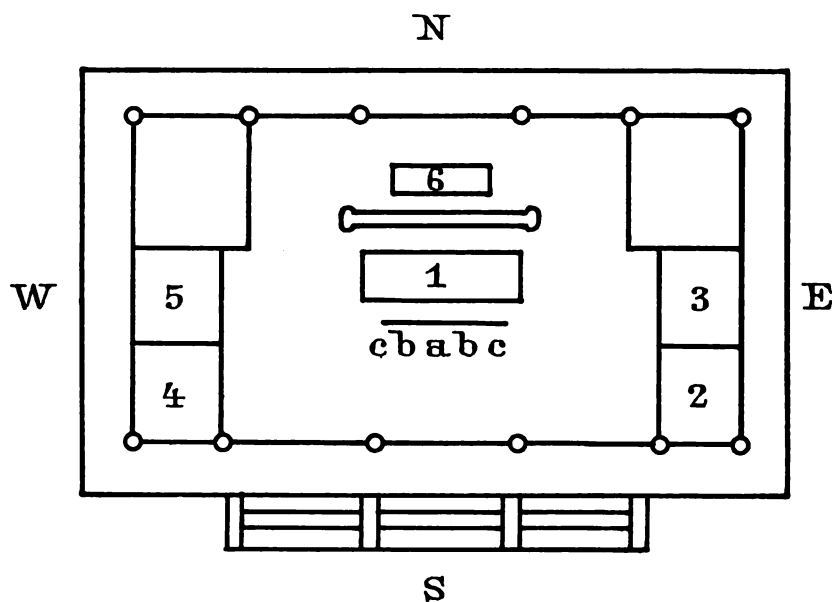
The various protectors of the universe and the temple, the Four Noble Devakings and the dignified, mild Guardian of the North, *Skanda*, were crowded into the entrance hall, but *Ch'ieh-lan* was considered too humble to keep them company. He was relegated to an eastern side-hall, where his native colleague *T'u-ti* 土地 used to reside.<sup>14</sup>

A worthier figure had come up in the meantime, similar to him, we think, in appearance, but a genuine Chinese, man and god in person, the fulfilment of the hopes of the pious Buddhist, Lord Maitreya, the Saviour-Buddha, manifested in the flesh of a humble monk. His most familiar names are: the Pot-bellied Buddha *Maitreya*, *Ta-tu-tzū Mi-lo-fo* 大肚子彌勒佛, and *Pu-tai Ho-shang* 布袋和尚, the »Hemp-bag bonze». His legend abounds in genuine *Ch'an* features,

proving that it was the *Ch'an* monks who substituted his distinctly Chinese personality for their colourless, outlandish *Ch'ieh-lan*.

Artistic considerations no longer played a part in these changes. They probably had already ceased to do so upon the supposed removal of the main figure from the hall. So another step towards the Sinification of Buddhism had been taken: the first god to greet the Chinese worshipper was bone of his bones, and flesh of his flesh, and it was on him that the hope of Buddhism rested.

But before entering upon a discussion of this figure, which is as common as it is problematic, let us describe briefly the ensemble of divinities ruling in this entrance hall.



Sketch showing Position of Objects in Hall I

1. *Pu-tai Ho-shang* the «Laughing Buddha» (Pl. X). On the altar before him we see the set of five sacrificial vessels (Ch. *wu-kung* 五供), customary in Chinese temples, placed in this order:

- (a) Incense-burner in old Chinese style.
- (b) Candlesticks.
- (c) Flowervase.

They represent the ancient set of offerings made to an Indian king or god.

2—5. Along the walls we have the Four Great Kings or Guardians of the Universe. According to ideas common to Buddhism and Hinduism, they each protect one of the quarters of the universe which correspond to the sides of the fabulous mountain of *Meru* or *Sumeru*. (For a more detailed description of this mountain, see Hall II, 11). They guard the four cardinal points of the universe, the four walls of a temple, its earthly symbol, the holy services, which are the

living word of the Buddha, and the Buddha's written word, the holy scriptures, on the last page of which they often figure. In former times they were found as guardians or protectors at the four corners of the treasure and store houses of monasteries. They appear as warriors or kings clad in antique armour. Here, as usual, they wear five-lobed crowns with Dhyānibuddhas (see Hall V), and are seated in the European fashion, trampling on demons (Pl. XI).

6. Facing north there is a special protector of temples, known in Chinese as *Wei-t'o*, J. *Ida* 韋駄 and Sanskritized as *Veda*, whose correct name, however, is *Skanda*, Ch. *Szū-chien-t'o*, J. *Shikanda* 私建駄 (Pl. XII 1 and 2).

After this general orientation let us enter upon a detailed discussion of this heterogeneous company.

### PU-TAI HO-SHANG. ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

The sole of his right foot rests flat on a cushion. The right knee is bent. The left thigh and shank are flat on the seat with the sole of the foot half turned up. This posture, called »royal ease«, is met with in statues of monks and minor saints only.

The right hand is resting on the right knee and holds a rosary which in this case should consist of twenty-one beads. The left hand clutches a corner of his scanty dress. The expression of his face and the outline of his body form a bizarre harmony, far removed from solemn dignity, but in keeping with the attitude of the Chinese populace towards the divine, which is sometimes that of naive familiarity, sometimes of outright skepticism, rarely of breath-taking awe.

The throne on which the monk is seated does not harmonize with the slightly vulgar figure occupying it. It is a plain red meditation seat resting on curved feet. A railing rising in three steps suggests a mountain to the Chinese symbol-loving mind. It is crowned with a frieze of elaborately carved dragons moving sinuously through clouds, a design full of cosmic symbolism. Here there are seven dragons mounting one above the other. Nine was a holy number reserved for the Emperor.

Another carved frieze, representing jewels, surrounds the throne. The throne itself stands on a solid marble daïs decorated with lotus designs, and what we would call the echinus is also represented by lotus leaves, similar to those adorning the ledge on which the Arhats in Hall III are seated.

### PU-TAI IN HAGIOGRAPHY

To understand fully the apocryphal new-comer in the Chinese pantheon occupying this throne and his curious career, we must delve into the interesting legend of the person represented.

The portrait of his personality is compiled from the following sources contained in the *Taishō Daizōkyō*\* (*Taishō Tripiṭaka*, abbreviated TTP):

No	Title	Author	Time	Chapter	In T T P			Remarks
					No.	Vol.	Pages	
1	Sung Kao-sêng-chuan 宋高僧傳	Tsan-ning, 贊甯	ca. 988	21	2061	50	848 b	Shortest and obviously oldest version. 215 characters
2	Ching-tê Ch'uan-têng-lu 景德傳燈錄	Tao-yüan, 道原	worked in 1004	27	2076	51	434 a	Probably enlarged from No. 1. 562 characters
3	Fo-tsu T'ung-chi 佛祖統記	Chih-p'an, 志磐	between 1258 and 1269	42	2035	49	390 c	442 characters
4	Fo-tsu Li-tai-t'ung-tsai 佛祖歷代通載	Nien-ch'ang, 念常, from Hua-t'ing 華亭	died in 1341	17	2036	49	651 c	571 characters
5	Shih shih Chi-ku-lüeh 釋氏稽古略	Chüeh-an, 覺岸	worked until 1354	3	2037	49	848 a	125 characters
6	Shên-sêng-chuan 神僧傳	—	1417	—	2069	50	1010 a	178 characters The date is that of the Imperial preface.
7	Ting-ying- ta-shih Pu-tai Ho-shang chuan 定應大師布 袋和尚傳	T'an-o, 曇噩 abbot of the Kuo-ch'ing- ch'an-ssu 國 清禪寺	between 1286—1366				477 a— 479 a	2395 characters.
	•Traditions concerning the Great Master of Ting- ying, the Hempbag Bonze•	of the T'ien- t'ai Sect						
8	Pu-tai Ho-shang Hou-hsü 布袋和尚後序	<i>Cramaṇa</i> Kuang-ju, 廣 和	—				479 a— 481 b	3724 characters. This essay, a postscript to No. 7, is some sort of a homily with a few bibliographical data.
9	(Ch'ung-k'o) Mi-lo chuan lüeh-chi 彌 勒傳略 覆 Reprint of the Abridged Biography of Maitreya	Huei-chih, 惠 智 Priest of the Snow Moun- tain Temple	—				482 a	304 characters.
10	Pu-tai Ho-shang chuan 布袋和尚傳	—	—				482 b	344 characters.

\* While reading the proof sheets, Mr. Susumu Nakamura draws the attention of the present writer to various works bearing on this subject which were inaccessible during the compilation of these notes. These writings are included in the *Dainihon Zokuzōkyō*, *Kyōto*, *Zōkyō Shoin*, 1905—1912 (Second Series, Miscellaneous Writings, vol. 5, pp. 477 a—482 b).

Of the last four writings, only Nos. 7 and 8 have been utilized for some additional notes. A systematic study of them was impossible without revamping the entire essay which was forbidden under the circumstances. No. 7 is an elaboration of some of the sources enumerated under Nos. 1—6, with additional material the origin of which is so far unknown. It deals freely with the data presented by the other legends, sometimes changing the setting and altering both the motivation and the purport. It provides us with important evidence of the progressive deification of the Popular Saint (*Volksheilige*). In this respect No. 8 is still more instructive. Both writings deserve a closer study in connection with the whole cluster of fact and fiction contained in similar legends. The following lines are intended to be of a merely tentative, suggestive character.

The material contained in all these sources is rather scanty. Sources Nos. 3, 4 and 5 repeat, for the most part, often in identical words, the same events, sayings, and verses found in the two firstnamed sources. No. 2, the *Ching-tê-lu*, yields no new information.

All these »biographies» agree that *Pu-tai* was a native of *Ssü-ming* 四明 in the Prefecture of *Fêng-hua* 奉化 of the Province of Chêkiang and that he lived in the first half of the tenth century. He had no permanent residence except for a sojourn of three years in the *Yüeh-lin-ssü* 嶽林寺 in the Prefecture of *Fêng-hua*.<sup>16</sup>

His real name was unknown, as were those of so many wandering monks of that time. Source No. 7, beginning, says that he used to call himself *Ch'i-tz'ü* 契此, a truly *Ch'an* (Zen) name, which might mean: »Congruent with This», »This» meaning either his own person or the inexpressible something, the Buddha within us, the Godhead, the Absolute.

It seems that his occasional predictions contributed to his popularity. He gave them by word of mouth or indicated them by his behaviour. They were considered infallible (sources Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 7).

We are told that when rain was expected the monk wore wet sandals and hastened on as if seeking shelter (source No. 4). When he was seen wearing wooden sandals with nails under the soles, or sleeping on the market-bridge in a squatting posture with his head resting on his knees (as he is sometimes depicted), the approach of warm weather was indicated (No. 4). His supposed ability to predict the weather even in this indirect manner probably gained him favour with the farmer.

Almost all sources describe him as obese, with wrinkled forehead, and a white protruding belly which he left uncovered.

There was one feature in his bodily appearance which more than others attracted general attention, although he was not the only person distinguished by it. Wherever he went, he wore a *pu-tai* (J. *hotei*). This word means literally a hemp (cloth) bag, but at that time it also meant a glutton, just as today we have the

*chiu-nang fan-tai* 酒囊飯袋, »wine-bag and rice-sack«, as an epithet for a person who is immoderate in eating and drinking. The liking of the Chinese for facetious puns (*shuang-kuan* 雙關) and their propensity for nicknames gave our monk the sobriquet *Pu-tai Ho-shang*, 布袋和尚, »Hemp-bag Bonze«. It is under this name that he has won his country-wide popularity. Source No. 7 prefixes to it: *Ch'ang-t'ing-tzū*.

His bag reminds us of another truth-seeker, some 1300 years before *Pu-tai Ho-shang*, who was also famed for carrying a bag — Diogenes of ancient Greece. We are reminded of this strange personality in various ways when reading the story of the Chinese monk. Both needed little shelter, to both applies the motto ascribed to Bias: »omnia mea mecum porto«. And the epithet »cynical« characterizes at least some of the sayings, if not the actions, of the bizarre Chinese monk.

Sources Nos. 3, 4 and 7 state that he carried his hemp bag (cloth bag) on a stick<sup>17</sup> over his shoulder and wandered through the hamlets and markets begging for everything he saw. Whatever he received, pickles, fish and meat, he would promptly taste, putting the remainder in his bag. This bag also served as a container for rubbish, even stones and bricks. At times he even seems to have indulged in barter or trade (No. 6, Vol. 50, p. 1010 a).

This bag was naturally an object of curiosity with old and young, and particularly with the country urchins who tried to snatch it from him. Source No. 3 (Vol. 49, p. 390 c) relates that once a crowd of sixteen boys shouted at him (probably using his nickname *Pu-tai*, but the source is silent about it), chased him, and vied with each other in seizing his bag. No. 7 speaking of eighteen children adds, mysteriously, that it was not known whence they came.

At times *Pu-tai* would open the bag, displaying its heterogeneous contents to people, strewing alms, alms-bowl, clogs, bricks, stones — everything on the ground, saying, »Look here, look here«. Then he would pick up each article one after the other and ask, »What is this? What is this?«

This scene with the children survives both in art and pantomime. The number sixteen is significant. It corresponds with one of the various groups of the Arhats (see H. III), to which *Pu-tai* and *Dharmatāla* were added later. Furthermore, it reminds us curiously of the number of children disporting themselves around the anthropomorphic statue of Father Nile, in recumbent position, where they indicate the number of cubits the river is supposed to rise each year during its famous inundation. Statues representing the reclining *Pu-tai* surrounded by children show either six or as many as eighteen. In the first case they are explained as the six receptive faculties (*indriya*), in the second as the eighteen *dhātus*: six receptive faculties (*indriya*), six sense-objects (*vishaya*), six resulting »bases« (*dhātus*). This symbolic interpretation is corroborated by source No. 8 (p. 479 b, reg. A).<sup>18</sup> Cf. Pl. XIII, 1—2.



In the Tibetan pantomime, known as *Cham*, *Pu-tai*, under the name of *Hva-shang* (i. e. *Ho-shang*, the Bonze; the form *Hva-shang* does not necessarily reflect the T'ang pronunciation, since the *wa-zur* is frequently sounded *o*), plays a ludicrous part. The novices enacting the role of the urchins, play practical jokes on him, pushing him, pulling him, sometimes even kicking him over. To the Tibetans, at least to the average Lamaist, he is generally not an object of worship, but an uncouth heretic and a target for raillery (*infra*).

One expects his utterances to shed more light on his character, particularly those connected with events related in the legends about him. They are, however, except for No. 7 very brief and for the most part of that enigmatical type characteristic of the masters of *Ch'an* (*Zen*) in which the corresponding sources abound and which constitute the chief contents of the famous »Records of Sayings», *Yü-lu* 語錄, an important category in the literature produced by this school.<sup>19</sup> So we find that the ever-recurrent question: »What was the idea of the Patriarch's (i. e. *Bodhidharma's*) coming from the West?»<sup>20</sup> was also put to *Ch'i-tz'ü* (Source No. 3, Vol. 49, p. 390 c; No. 7, 477 b). Instead of answering it directly he put down his bag and stood there, crossing his hands in front of his breast. »Is there nothing else to it?» the interlocutor asked him. Thereupon the master took up his bag »with his fingers», shouldered it and left. He probably intended to indicate that *Bodhidharma's* aim in coming to China could be stated in definite terms as little as that of *Ch'an* Buddhism in general.

This method of answering a question by »the great silence», so familiar to the student of *Ch'an* Buddhism from reading *Bodhidharma's* legend and later sources, is found in another episode from his life. The bonze *Pai-lu* (白鹿, »White Deer», source No. 4, Vol. 49, p. 651 c; No. 7, p. 477 b) asked him the simple question, »What is it about your bag?» The master placed the bag on the ground. »What do you mean by putting down your bag?» the other asked. Thereupon *Pu-tai* shouldered it again and went away. The same happened to the bonze *Pao-fu* 保福 who asked him about the gist (*ta-i* 大意) of Buddhism (*ibid.*). *Pu-tai* sometimes followed this habit of responding to a question by not giving any direct answer, but by breaking off the conversation altogether even when he himself had begun it.

Once he overtook a monk wandering along the road. Tapping him on the back, he begged him, »Give me a cash». These words are, as Dr. Helen B. Chapin has already pointed out, a Zenist *kung-an* (J. *kōan* 公案), subject for meditation. Source No. 2 (Vol. 51, p. 434 a) continues: The bonze, turning his back, said: »If the truth (or path, *tao* 道) is found, I will give you a cash». The master put down his bag and stood there with crossed hands.

His taciturn mood alternated, however, as the sources assure us, with moments when he was more communicative, though he always remained laconic.

Once, when he was wandering in *Min 閩* (the Province of *Fukien*, adjacent to his native province) a layman of the name of *Ch'ên 陳*, a great worshipper of his, elicited from him the following information (source No. 3, Vol. 49, p. 390 c): »How old are you?» The master replied: »My bag here is as old as space». When asked for further details, he answered: »My surname is *Li* (李, the name legend ascribes to the reputed author of the *Tao-tê-ching*, *Lao Tzū*). I was born on the eighth day of the second moon». The comparison of space with a bag or more precisely with bellows is found in a frequently quoted passage of the *Tao-tê-ching*, Ch. 5: 天地之間其猶橐籥乎虛而不屈動而愈出 »Heaven and Earth and all that lies between is like a bellows in that it is empty, but gives a supply that never fails». The word in question means a sack which is open at both ends. It may also mean bellows.<sup>21</sup> Source No. 7 contains the same story.

There is another incident related in *Pu-tai's* legend which has some analogy to a story told about Diogenes. Once he stood on a road (Source No. 3; TTP, Vol. 49, p. 390 c; Source No. 4, Vol. 49, pp. 651—2 says: a cross-road). When he was asked by a monk, »What are you doing here?» he replied, »I am waiting for a man». The bonze said, »Here he is». The master (source No. 3) took an orange from his robe and offered it to him. As soon as the other reached for it *Pu-tai* withdrew his hand and said: »You are not that man». (These words are also found in source No. 7). But when the monk asked, »What kind of man is it (for whom you are waiting)?» he received the surprising reply, »Give me a cash».

The student to whom *Ch'an* Buddhism means more than an adogmatic or rather antidogmatic mysticism (*pu li wên-tzū* 不立文字, *i hsin ch'uan hsin* 以心傳心) finds that these answers leave him in doubt as to the nature of *Pu-tai's* religious ideas. Was he a mere religious dreamer, a more or less illiterate mystic and revolutionary follower of *Ch'an* which was revolutionary from its beginning, or if not, by which of the various schools of Buddhist scholasticism was he attracted?

The information to be culled from the sources is rather meagre, but our third biography (Vol. 49, p. 390 c) records an incident which seems to shed some light on this question. It states that *Pu-tai Ho-shang* lived for three years with a man named *Chiang Tsung-pa*<sup>22</sup> 蔣宗霸 who was known as a student of the most famous text-book of Mahayana philosophy, the *Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra*, and who therefore was usually called *Chiang Mahā* (蔣摩訶, short for *Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā*). He happened to be a countryman of *Pu-tai's*. During their sojourn in the monastery, *Mahā-prajñā Chiang* used to read the *Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra* to his friend. It would be rash to infer from this fact that *Pu-tai* himself was illiterate, as his behaviour and the original attitude of the *Ch'an* sect towards the scriptures might suggest. The poems ascribed to him, although ignoring the restrictions imposed on versification by the academic rigorism of

the T'ang poets, are not the work of an unsophisticated genius, and besides *Ch'an* Buddhism had already at an early stage produced a literature of its own and adopted certain current sutras as text-books. It is obvious that the two friends studied the book mentioned together for their mutual edification.

No. 7 (p. 478 a, register B), then, states clearly that *Pu-tai* induced his friend to read (or: taught him how to read) the afore-mentioned sutra as »daily lesson».

But there are other episodes which give us a different picture of his attitude towards current beliefs, and they refer, characteristically enough, to the Messianic hope of the Buddhists, which is focused around *Maitreya*, the Coming Buddha.

The scene with the urchins examining the contents of his bag which is related in our third source *supra* concludes: »Thereupon he wrapped up some excrements with the words: »This is the ground of the inner court of *Maitreya*.» The inner court is a part of *Maitreya's* palace that plays some rôle in the eschatological ideas of the Buddhists. This palace in which the Bodhisattva is believed to reside is made of gold (*suvarṇa-bhūmi*).<sup>23</sup> Similar crude comparisons are also found in other writers. We mention e. g. *Chuang Tzū's* characteristic statement about ubiquitous Tao. Still, we are at a loss how to explain this saying of the monk in this connection. Was it really purported to be iconoclastic, like the sayings and doings of so many of his fellow-monks since the advent of *Bodhidharma* almost 500 years before? Viewed in the light of another episode which the same source records, we feel inclined to think so. Once, it is said in source No. 4, he pointed to a privy, saying: »Conversion (or: begging alms)<sup>24</sup> does not amount to as much as these excretions». Both these occurrences are related in source No. 7 also (p. 477 b, register B).

But how did it happen that a man of this mentality became a god, even *Maitreya* himself? That he did not escape the fate of other religious characters, more eminent than he, like the Buddha *Çākyamuni* before, or *Tsong-kha-pa* after him, of being made into something which he either did not believe to exist at all or considered to be irrelevant to religious thinking. The answer is that he, too, fell a victim to idealization through religious fiction. Let us turn once more to the written sources.

Source No. 3 states: In the period *T'ien-li* 天禮 (a clerical error for *T'ien-fu* 天福, 936—943) the magistrate *Wang Jen* 王仁 of *P'u-t'ien* 蒲田 saw him in *Min-chung* 閩中. The monk gave him a religious poem (*chieh* 偈 *gāthā*, Vol. 49, pp. 390—391 and Vol. 51, p. 434 b), which reads:

*Mi-lo* (i. e. *Maitreya*), true *Mi-lo*,  
 Reborn innumerable times,  
 From time to time manifested to men,  
 The men of the age do not recognize you.

Source No. 7 (p. 478 b, reg. A) relates the same story, with only a slight variation. It gives the name of the magistrate as Wang Jên-hsü 王仁煦.

Insignificant as such words may seem to the average unbelieving person, they assume magic suggestiveness when raised above the level every day affairs and connected with such a momentous event as death. Taken as a swan-song, they are capable of surrounding their author with a glamour of mysticism and winning him a nimbus of immortality. It is in the *Ch'uan-têng-lu* (source No. 2) that we find this stanza connected with his demise, but the *Fo-tsu T'ung-chi* (No. 3) written some 250 years later ignores it.

According to the *Ch'uan-têng-lu* (Vol. 51, p. 434 b) *Pu-tai* entered Nirvana sitting on a rock in the Eastern vestibule of the temple *Yüeh-lin-ssü* in the second year of *Chên-ming* 貞明 of the Later *Liang* Dynasty (916) (source 4). Legend No. 7 (p. 478 a, reg. B) gives »the third day of the third moon of the third year» (917). Both dates stand in glaring contradiction to that given for the meeting with *Wang Jên-hsü* (*supra*). The change of date in the latter source with its three-fold repetition of the auspicious number three is an obvious deviation from the older tradition. It may have been made with the intention to impress this momentous event upon the people. The same purpose is served by the account of the miraculous features accompanying his funeral rites, as described in the same source, *loc. cit.* A *t'ing-chang* 亭長 or beadle of that district who formerly had taken offense at the conduct of the idle mendicant, had upon three occasions given him a scolding and deprived him of his bag, which he burned, but, to his surprise, *Pu-tai* had reappeared each time with that same old bag. After the saint's death, the beadle, repenting of his harshness, bought a coffin for his funeral. But the whole crowd present was unable to move the coffin. Thereupon they substituted a man by the name of *T'ung* 童 (*sic!*) who had always shown respect to the Master. It appeared that for him the coffin was as light as a feather. The present writer must confess that the text looks somewhat suspicious to him. Are we justified to read 子 or 兒 instead of 氏 after *T'ung* and to assume that »a (virgin) boy» or »(virgin) boys» were the only ones able to carry the coffin of him who is stated in the text to have remained virgin all his life? The »universal» character of this legend is well enough known to be discussed here. The reader may be reminded of the coffin of the Buddha, Çakyamuni, about which a similar legend is on record.

Because of his popularity, the credulous crowd was only too willing to believe the rumours denying his death. The fact that these regions in those times were rich in religious characters of a similar type with whom *Pu-tai* may have been confounded seems to offer a sufficient explanation for the origin of such stories. So he is reported to have been seen by people in other districts. To one of them he said, »By mistake I have taken this sandal with me. Take it back with you». When the man returned, he learned that the master had already died. The

people inspected his tomb at *Feng-shan* 封山, and lo! they found only one sandal in it (No. 3, TTP, Vol. 49, p. 390 c).

If we assume a factual basis for this legend and look for a rational explanation, it may be found in the hypothesis that *Pu-tai* was mistaken for someone resembling him. Source No. 4 simply says that he was seen by other people after he had been buried. The circumstance of the single sandal found in the tomb is frequent in Chinese resurrection stories and has its well-known analogies elsewhere.<sup>25</sup>

It is, therefore, apparent that this and similar stories have been borrowed from older legends in order to strengthen the belief aroused by his famous poem that he was a »preincarnation«, so to speak, of *Maitreya*.

Source No. 3 (Vol. 49, p. 391 a) speaks of the cult of his relics: »And so they took a flask of celadon used for consecrated water and his mendicant's rattle-staff<sup>26</sup> with six rings, which they found near the pagoda marking his tomb, and preserved them as sacred relics in the temple where he had breathed his last«. This is evidently the beginning of his deification. Source No. 7 (p. 478 b, reg. B) says that, in conformity with a prophesy, these objects were excavated 200 years after the saint's death, during the *Shao-hsing* period (1131—1162), at the site of the *Yüeh-lin ssü*.

More miracle stories were rife and enhanced his fame. Already looked upon with amazement, because, when lying on the snow (apparently to sleep), his body remained unaffected by it (No. 2), this amazement grew into real awe when it became known that *Chiang Mo-ho*, *Mahā-prajñā Chiang*, when bathing with him in the *Ch'ang-t'ing* 長汀<sup>27</sup> brook, had discovered an eye on his back, which could but be the eye of »transcendent wisdom« (*prajñā-cakshus*). Utterly surprised, the layman exclaimed: »You are a Buddha!« The Master hushed him: »Don't tell anyone.«<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless, the story transpired either during his life-time or not long after his death, and it will have made no little contribution towards the corroboration of an already existing belief. No. 7 (p. 478 a, reg. B) tells the same story with this variant: *Mahā(-prajñā)* rubbing (*Pu-tai's*) back (with a towel) and suddenly discovered four eyes shining brightly. Startled he did obeisance to him and exclaimed: »Reverend Sir, you are a Buddha«. The Master said: »Don't tell people. That I have been with you for three, four years, that may be called a great »grace« (*yüan* 緣). I must leave you. Don't be sad«. The number four is probably introduced here with the intention to outdo the older version. Four eyes in addition to *Pu-tai's* natural eyes would symbolize the fivefold eye (*pañ-cacakshus*) of a Buddha.

But two other factors cooperated in raising him above the level of his contemporaries, and even higher than the most illustrious of his predecessors: the poems composed by, or ascribed to him, and the drawings made of him.

Source No. 7 and especially No. 8 are the richest in poetical utterances. In

addition to those included in the older sources we find many couched in more or less stereotyped diction. All express that spirit of *Ch'an* (*Zen*) with which the Western student of Buddhism has recently become familiar through the works of Dr. D. T. Suzuki. Space forbids the inclusion here of more than a small selection of these interesting poems.

One poem is recorded in source No. 4 (TTP, Vol. 49, p. 652 a; cf. also Vol. 51, p. 434 b). It contains five stanzas of four lines each, making twenty lines in all. The verses are treated with utmost freedom, as in most *Ch'an* poems; the only rule observed is that the number of characters, namely seven, should be the same in each line. Rhyme, where it occurs, seems to be unintentional, and the *p'ing-tse* 平仄 rules do not exist for our poet.

In source No. 7, the composition of which displays much more literary skill than the preceding legends, this poem is one of a whole series of parting stanzas with which *Pu-tai* answers questions of his hospitable friend *Ch'ên*. Here it answers the question about the Buddha-nature (*fo-hsing* 佛性, *buddhatva*).

The first stanza describes the universality of the mind, a favourite subject with the *Ch'an* mystic; the second develops the state of mind of the wandering monk; the third asserts the futility of cherished scholastic distinctions. The fourth stanza carrying the ideas set forth in the third, describes the state of the »saint» who is fundamentally not different from the profane man, living in the same world with him. The fifth stanza is an exhortation to strive »after that one great aim».<sup>29</sup>

1. This mind, mind, mind is the Buddha,  
The transcendental something in the worlds of the ten quarters.  
In all directions it operates miraculously in the pitiful sentient beings,  
And all the *dharma*s are not real, as the mind is.
2. Ascending, transcending, free and independent, bound for no destination,  
With all-embracing wisdom he moves, the man who left his family.  
If he beholds before his eyes the Real Great Way,  
He does not even regard the tiny (tip of a) hair as real: a miracle indeed.
3. The ten thousand *dharma*s, how are they different, and the mind, how is it distinguishable?  
What is the use of searching the meaning of the *sutra*s?  
The mind-king in its original state severs the manifold knowledge.  
Only he is wise who understands (or: by whom is illustrated?) the state of Non-learning.
4. Since there is neither profane nor saint, what should one do?  
Abstain from differentiation, and there is the state of the saint, which is solitude.  
That priceless pearl of the mind in its original state is round and pure.  
All differences caused by qualities are futile names.



5. It is MAN who makes TAO (the «truth», «way») great, and TAO stands out in clarity.  
Numberless pure and noble (men) praise TAO.  
Dragging (your) pilgrim's staff (feel) like ascending the path leading home.  
Do not worry that nowhere (you) hear a sound.

The same sources (Vol. 49, p. 652 a, and Vol. 51, p. 434 b) give us another poem:

»One alms-bowl contains the rice of a thousand families;  
A lonely body wanders ten thousand *li*.  
(Only) a few people cast friendly looks upon me  
For the road I ask the white clouds».

In source No. 7 (*l. c.*) this poem is an answer to *Ch'en's* question whether he possesses any of the baggage usually carried by pilgrims.

Even the translations, imperfect as they are, show that the originals are of unequal literary value. Whereas his poem about *Maitreya*, and the one on his wanderings, probably the only genuine one, seem to express ideas more or less commonplace in *Ch'an* and to show no originality of diction, the longer poem about the Buddhahood betrays genuine poetic genius.

But these poems, even in combination with the legends relating prophecies and miracles, would hardly have been sufficient to secure him a permanent place in tradition and a comparatively high rank in the pantheon, if pictorial art had not come to their aid.

### PU-TAI IN ICONOGRAPHY

»Thereupon» (No. 2, Vol. 51, p. 434 b, continuing the story about his re-appearance after his burial), »priests and laymen vied with each other in drawing his portrait. Even now in the eastern side hall of the Great Hall of the *Yüeh-lin-ssü* (where he had died) a full portrait of him has been preserved». Source No. 5 states expressly that the portraits drawn by the people were worshipped, and our oldest source (No. 1) declares that his poem about *Maitreya* led to the belief that he had pointed towards himself as the actual *Maitreya*.

The *Kao-sêng-chuan* (No. 1) says that his portrait was frequently painted by people »in the region of the *Yang-tzû* and the *Chê-chiang* rivers» (modern *Che-kiang*), the cradle of so many religious innovations. The cult of the Arhats, among whom *Pu-tai* is a belated guest, spread from there over China.

Our source No. 7 has much more to report concerning the beginnings of *Pu-tai's* portrait. It says (p. 477 b, reg. B): »There was a man by the name of *Lu*, an excellent painter (or draughtsman), who drew (the master's) portrait on the wall of the store-house of the temple. When the Master passed by there, he spat

without stopping». This attitude of his agrees with another incident related by the same source in connection with the poem he gave to *Wang Jên-hsü*, *supra* (p. 478 b, reg. A): At the end of the poem he had written nine characters to the effect: »Do not portray my features. This here is true». How unfortunate, that his order was disobeyed by his devotees. Our source continues: »In the third year of *Hsi-ning* of the *Sung* (1070) a descendant of *Wang Jên-hsü*, (*Wang*) *Chu-shang*, still preserved these verses in the Master's original handwriting. *Liu Chi-yeh* copied the text, imitating the hand of the Master, drew the portrait of the Great Master, and had (both) engraved in stone in *I-ch'un*(?), omitting, however, those nine characters. In the fourth year of *Yüan-fêng* (1081), the *çramaṇa* *Tsung-shang*, obtaining its original had it cut in the original handwriting in the rear of the *Yüeh-lin ssü*. Three years later *Lü Chen* from *Wên-ling*, Superintendent of Merchant Vessels in *Ming-chou*, produced the original of the nine characters which had been in possession of the descendant of *Wang Jên-hsü* and induced the abbot *Ju-hsün* to have them cut behind the poem. *Ju-hsün* gave instructions to remove the portrait as something belonging to the world of illusory appearances and not in accordance with the Great Master's views. He had the poem transferred to the stone and those nine characters added.

A man by the name of *Lu Shih-ch'i*, when magistrate of this district, showed special reverence (to the Master): he had his picture drawn and placed in his office, where he worshipped it. Wind and rain came as one desired, and prayers were granted. So the incense fire continues until now . . . There follows an account of his reappearance after his death, carrying one slipper (*supra*), and specimens of his poetry (*supra*). Then the story continues: »Eventually there was a »magician» who predicted that the *Yüeh-lin* temple where *Pu-tai* had lived would awaken to new life after 200 years. In the *Shao-hsing* period (1131—1162) the abbot *Chao-chüeh*, a descendant of the layman *Ch'ên* (*supra*), renovated the stupas and pavilions of the *Fêng-shan*, and *Fêng Ssü-tao* and others donated property surrounded by mountains as an extension to the temple area. Suddenly there appeared a strange light (from the ground), and when they excavated (that site), they found a holy water vessel of yellow color and a rattle-staff with six rings of peculiar antique style (*supra*) . . . In the third year of *Ch'ung-ning* (1104), the abbot *T'an-chên* persuaded his countryman by the name of *Tung* to erect a two-storeyed building (*ko*) in the rear of the temple. Another countryman by the name of *Jên* erected a clay statue of the Master in the upper storey of the *ko*. Thereupon *Tung* thought to himself: »I have built the *ko* in which they have erected a statue made by *Jên*». So he made a statue by himself and placed it in the upper storey, the one made by *Jên* he installed below. A »magician» said: »*Tung's* statue will have a span of sixty years, that of *Jên* will outlive it. There was a conflagration in the temple in the *Shao-hsing* period (1131—1162), when both the *ko* and the statue erected by *Tung* were consumed by the fire. Once

a man who practised the »Way» collected alms »with a burnt hand» (*jan i pi*, a metaphor for inducing a person by self-torment to accede to one's request) and rebuilt the edifice jointly with the *çramaṇa* *Hsing-chung*, whereupon the statue of *Jên* was reinstalled above. Counting the years which had elapsed they found that the prophecy had come true . . . »

More miracles are related in our source (No. 7), of which one may be recorded here, as it furnishes us with another date which, however, may be wholly or partly fictitious. »During the August *Yüan* dynasty, on the ninth day of the ninth moon of the nineteenth year *Chih-yüan* (1282) the *ko* fell in ruins, only the statue of the Great Master remained intact, with its major and minor marks (of a Buddha) shining forth from the ruins . . . » Let us conclude this indiscriminate medley of fact and fiction by an extract from No. 8 (p. 48 b, reg. A): »After his (*Pu-tai*'s) demise, the amazed populace . . . erected a stupa, which was adorned with an Imperial inscription to the effect: »*Ting-ying-t'a*». This accounts for his name *Ting-ying-ta-shih Pu-tai-ho-shang*, which is the title of legend No. 7.

As to his deification, No. 8 of our sources is, as could be expected, the most explicit. After an introduction, written in elaborate rhythmical prose displaying a considerable amount of Buddhist learning, it goes on to say (pp. 479 a—b) that it is *Maitreya*, the future renewer of the »Buddhist Norm», who appeared in a *nirmāṇa-kāya* (*hua-shen*) in the »ten quarters of the cosmos»; so under the *Hsiao Liang* (502—557) dynasty as *Fu Ta-shih* (*Mahāvira Fu*; cf. *Oda*. p. 1070, b and 1531, b; died in the first year of *Ta-chien* of the *Ch'ên* dynasty, A.D. 569) in *I-wu*, (Chekiang), and another time at the end of the *T'ang* dynasty, under the reign of *Hsi-tsung* (874—888), when he suddenly appeared in *Ssü-ming*. He wandered about with his belly exposed, a smile on his face. He hid his »virtue» (»magic power», »divine nature») under the appearance of a fool. Nobody knew his identity. In his behavior he was not dignified, nor did he in his conduct show respect for rules. But when he opened his mouth and spoke, his words filled heaven and earth, etc.

This is apparently all the information we have about the inception of his iconographic portrait. What it resembled we can only vaguely imagine from his literary picture, as nothing genuine seems to have survived of those presumably crude wall-paintings which were originally mere »sgraffiti» or scribblings of a more or less perishable nature made by novices or visitors. But perhaps it is quite safe to assume that they inspired, indirectly, the oldest real paintings which have come down to us. Such a type, with his grotesque features and his ragged, dirty garb, appealed to the Chinese genius with its leaning for the bizarre, which often enough, for instance in the traditional Arhat type, gives us the erroneous impression of intentional caricature. Intentional caricaturing is doubtless to be found in many more recent reproductions, as the type underwent certain remarkable changes in the course of time.

For the earliest drawings or paintings just mentioned no outside influences need be assumed. It seems, however, quite possible, or even probable, that the statuary was inspired by some squatty *Yaksha* type, as Lucian Scherman was the first to surmise.<sup>30 a</sup> Certain statues of the sitting *Pu-tai* show essential similarities to that of the *Yaksha Jambhala*, and it may be that later images of the monk represent a crossing between the Chinese paintings and some *Yaksha*. The peach seen in the hand of *Pu-tai* has very probably been substituted by the Chinese for the lemon held by *Jambhala* which had less meaning for them. One of the oldest Chinese stone figures in existence, dating from the *Sung* Dynasty, is found at *Yen-hsia-tung* 烟霞洞 in the province of Chekiang. It shows the type familiar to us.<sup>30 b</sup>

This short-limbed (*kharva*) *Yaksha*-type goes back, as Scherman surmises for good reasons, to a popular type of *Silenos*, the friend of children, who has survived in Buddhist iconography since the age of Gandharan art, though we are not yet able to give an uninterrupted history of his evolution. It may be observed, however, that the broad grin *Pu-tai* displays in the more recent images is contradictory both to the description of the legend and to the traditional type of *Jambhala* (who, particularly as *Ucchushma*, is expressly described as frowning, *kr̥ta-bhṛkuṭin*),<sup>31</sup> whereas it would fit the popular conception of a *Silenos*. The »winebag», characteristic of *Silenos*, was often misunderstood and converted into a fold or corner of his garb. That would explain the feature noticeable in images of *Pu-tai* showing him without his chief attribute, the bag, instead of which he clutches a corner of his »monastic robe» with his left hand.

Statues of him have usually neither nimbus nor aureola, nor the ornaments of *Maitreya* either (see Hall IX). There are, however, statues where the solemn combines with the grotesque: the fat, half-nude monk wears a crown, much in the same way as the »real» *Maitreya* as »crownprince» (*yuva-rāja*, i. e. as designated successor of *Gautama* or *Çākyamuni*).

It is supposed that there is some significance in the circumstance recorded in the legend that *Pu-tai* died near the eastern vestibule of the temple, and that — probably as a result of this — his portrait was first drawn and consequently worshipped in the eastern side-hall. From there, where the native god of the soil was supposed to reside, it was easy to transfer him to the entrance-hall, to displace the foreign intruder, *Ch'ieh-lan*, as explained above.

Summing up, it seems that *Pu-tai Ho-shang* was a figure-head representing a whole category of similar characters of the *Ch'an* school, posing as religious eccentrics, commanding a deep respect with the populace willing to worship them and to credit them with superhuman qualities. As a matter of fact, the *Shih-lei ch'üan-shu* 事類全書 quoted in the *Kokushi Daijiten* 國史大辭典 enumerates four *Pu-tais*.<sup>32 a</sup>

1. *Ch'i-tzū*, in the *T'ang* dynasty.
2. *Liao-ming* 了明, a fat monk, *Sung* dynasty.
3. *Pu-tai*, *Yüan* dynasty (considered to be a reincarnation of Nos. 1 and 2).
4. *Chang's* 張 son of *Tsao-yang* 桑陽, said to resemble a painted *Pu-tai*.

This statement, if correct — the source quoted is at present inaccessible to the writer — would be another proof of the undoubtable fact that the popularity of the fat monk grew rapidly. He eclipsed the entire crowd of older, nobler, and more famous colleagues, among whom there were quite a few very popular figures, for he was *Maitreya*, the Buddha-to-Come, who, temporarily in a humble guise and in an unpretentious manner, preached the message of *Ch'an* Buddhism in the language of the people. *Ch'an*, as Dr. *Hu Shih*<sup>19</sup> has justly pointed out, is the Chinese version of the Buddhist gospel, and *Pu-tai*, or the *Pu-tais*, were the last of its apostles, the Messiahs of the Latter Days. Systematic mythology required a definite place and rank for this preincarnation in the pantheon, and so he became not only one of the last *Arhats*, (see Hall III), but also the first saint to greet the worshipper visiting the temple.

This then is *Pu-tai Ho-shang*, the Hemp-bag Monk, alias the Pot-bellied *Maitreya*, mendicant, friar, philosopher, poet, hero of legends, guardian of the temple, saint and saviour in disguise, one of those *Eulenspiegels* in which Chinese folklore is so rich and who lived up to *Lao-Tzū's* saying: »The highest wisdom is like foolishness, the greatest eloquence like stuttering.«<sup>32 b</sup>

In China he is still one of the most favourite figures of popular religion, known everywhere and to everyone. A thousand years have not dimmed his popularity, on the contrary, they have increased it. This appears even in commonplace sayings of everyday life. If a mother proudly refers to her fat baby as a *Tz'ü-wa-wa* 磁娃娃 »a porcelain doll«, she has in mind the numerous ugly porcelain figures of the monk.<sup>33</sup>

## PU-TAI ABROAD

In Japan he has become, as *Hotei* (J. pronunciation of *Pu-tai*), one of the Seven Spirits of Good Luck (*Shichi-fukujin* 七福神), who has eventually been commingled with *Mahākāla*, as god of wealth.

In the domain of Lamaism, Tibet and Mongolia, he is regarded as the impersonation of Chinese, unorthodox Buddhism. Here he plays the ludicrous rôle of a buffoon on whom the children (source No. 3) play practical jokes in pantomimic dances. He seems to have been confounded there with another historical personage, the *Ho-çang Mahāyāna*, who is said to have appeared in Tibet in the ninth century and preached a form of *Ch'an* doctrine, aiming at reaching the highest goal without



Fig. 1. Hva-çang

*Lokapāla Virūdhaka* we find a prayer or rather an invocation addressed to *Hva-çang*, which seems to contain an allusion to a legend unknown to the writer: »I bow in worship before *Hva-çang*, Seer of Truth, who invited the Buddha with his retinue of Arhats, entreating them as a Benefactor of the Summer (i. e. providing for them during their *varshā* or summer-retreat) and enjoying the nectar of the sermon.»

The Tibetan text reads:

Sangs-rgyas gnas-brtan hkhor-dang beas  
 spyen-drangs dbyar-gyi sbyin-bdag shus  
 gsung-gi bdud-rtsi myang-ba-yis  
 bden-mthong Hva-çang-la phyag-htshal.

The picture to which this invocation belongs is printed, as many others in this album, on the back of the wrong wood-cut. It shows a faintly smiling *Hva-shang*, his head surrounded by a nimbus in the well-known attitude, with a chaplet in the shape of the figure 8 in his right hand, and a peach, the well-known Chinese symbol of longevity, in his left. He is sitting on a deerskin like an ascetic or a magician (*Mahāsiddha*). At the right side (from the observer) there are three nude youths of much smaller stature than the monk. One of them stretches out his hand for the peach, another uses one of *Hva-shang*'s shoes, which stand before him, as a toy boat. The picture is an idyll full of good-natured humour, but no relation is apparent between it and the prayer (cf. Pl. XIII, 1—2).

the study of scholastic philosophy. He was defeated by the famous *Kamalaçīla*. Here again it seems — and the very name suggests it — that *Ho-çang Mahā-yāna* represents not an individual, but a group of monks, and that our ludicrous »Hemp-bag» appeared to the Tibetans to be a typical enough representative of the school of thought which was held in low esteem by the established church. But the problem is too complicated to be studied here.

Being a preponderantly comic character, it is unlikely that under the circumstances he should receive any kind of worship in Lamaism. However, on the back of a cut from the album entitled »The Five Hundred Gods of *Narthang* (*Snar-thang*)» representing the



The picture in »The Three Hundred Gods» (Bibliotheca Buddhica V. No. 210) is somewhat different. The expression of the face, here turned slightly to the left (from observer), is serious, slightly frowning. We have the nimbus, the deerskin on which he sits, the Chinese landscape with mountains, water, and clouds. The saint holds his 8-shaped rosary in both hands. Six small boys, three on each side, climb up his back.

In B 208 (Clark, Vol. II, p. 297) he is represented without children his right hand holding some undefinable object, his left the chaplet. Here he has the nimbus. His names are given there as:

T. *Hva-çang Dge-bsnyen*, in which the Tibetan part is merely a translation of the Chinese, both meaning *upāsaka*,

M. *Uljeitü sakighulsun Hua-shang*,

Ma. *Tuwakiyan-sain Hôwashan*. (The Mongolian and the Manchu names both translate the T. *dge-bsnyen*).<sup>34</sup>

Wherever *Pu-tai* became known, in China, Japan, Tibet, and lately in the West, it is the buffoon-like features of his personality that have impressed themselves on the minds of the people, and they determine his mental portrait now. Even in Europe industrious merchants have seized upon this joint creation of history and legend.

His bizarre exterior readily lent itself to the atrocious disfigurations which adorn the mantlepiece or bookshelf of many a western home, eliciting at times an inquiry from a curious visitor, as to their »meaning». If *Pu-tai* were alive today and able to answer the question himself, what would be his reply? Might he not say what the writer once read with reference to him, in a *tui-lien* 對聯 found in a small village inn near *Ku-pei-k'ou* 古北口 on the road to *Jehol*? It read:

The big belly is capable to contain — it contains the things under Heaven which are difficult to contain.

The broad face is inclined to laugh — to laugh at the laughable men on Earth.

This is clearly a sermon on forbearance, that cardinal virtue preached both by Buddhism and Confucianism, and it is with a prayer for his forbearance with this inadequate attempt at unveiling his secret that we take leave of this dwarfish semi-god and turn to his body-guard of giants.



Fig. 2. Vaiṣṇavaṇa



Fig. 3. Virūpākṣa. Lamaist style

## THE FOUR GREAT KINGS OR GUARDIANS OF THE UNIVERSE

In the chapels, lined up along both side-walls, are the Four Great Kings or Guardians of the Universe (*Lokapāla*, T. *Hjig-rten-skyong*, Ch. *Hu-shih-chieh* 護世界, Protectors of the Worlds). They are also called *Mahārājas*, T. *Rgyal-chen*, Great Kings or *Devarājas*, Ch. *T'ien-wang*, J. *Tennō* 天王, Kings of the *Devas*. This last appellation appears also in the name of the entrance-hall of the *Yung-ho-kung* and many other Chinese temples.

The *Lokapālas*, as they appear here, are a loan from Brahmanic cosmology, where we have the old deities *Indra* (protecting the East), *Yama* (S.), *Varuṇa* (W.) and *Soma* or *Kubera* (N.). Buddhism adopted the system, but »rechristened» them, as will be seen from the table below.

Each of these Four presides over one of the slopes of Mount Meru (*Sumeru*; see Hall II, B 11), enjoying a blissful life for five hundred years in their world, where each year is equal to 18000 years on earth. Assisted by twenty-eight or thirty-two generals, they have command not only over the sun, moon, and stars, but also over the eight hosts of demons (*ashtāsena*, T. *sde-brgyad*, Ch. *pa-pu*, J. *hachibu*, 八岐, viz: *Gandharvas*, *Piçācas*, *Kumbhāṇḍas*, *Pretas*, *Nāgas*, *Yakshas*, *Rākshasas*, and the *Mahābhūtas* or elements personified).

The Four *Lokapālas* are represented either standing, or, as here, seated (the



Fig. 4. Virūdhaka



Fig. 5. Dhṛtarāshtra

position of the legs may vary), as giants, in elaborate antique armour, their faces displaying a warlike or heroic (*vīra*, T. *dpah-bo*, M. *baghatur*) expression.

As kings they wear elaborate five-lobed crowns with a Dhyānibuddha or a corresponding spell (*mantra*) on each lobe as a sign that they have received the magic consecration (*adhiṣṭhāna*) from each of the Five Tathāgatas (see Hall II). In other images they wear helmets instead of crowns which greatly adds to their martial aspect. Each of them tramples on one or several demons which he is supposed to have subjugated to his rule. In this respect the Lokapālas belong to the images called *nara-vāhana* »having a man for a vehicle», an epithet used particularly with reference to *Kubera*<sup>35</sup> whom we find thus represented already on a pillar in *Bārhut*.<sup>36</sup> Trampling on an enemy is then an old symbol expressive of victory, which we find both in pre-Buddhist China in the tomb-statue of *Ho Ch'ü-ping*<sup>37</sup> and in medieval Europe.<sup>38</sup> In the epithet *nāra-vahana* the word *nara* does not necessarily mean a human being, but may imply a human-shaped demon.

It is supposed that some of the names (and also certain types?) of these demons are derived from those of certain aboriginal tribes conquered by the Aryans invading India.

As stated above, the chief and archetype of the group, *Vaiçravaṇa*, was already represented as Yaksha King *Kubera*, with purely Indian features, in *Bārhut* (*Bar-*

*ahut*),<sup>39</sup> in the second century B. C. In the Gandharan sculptures, from the beginning of our era, he bears, as has been pointed out by Grünwedel,<sup>40</sup> the features of a foreigner, a Scythian from the North, with a spear in his hand. The same attribute is found in his images in the *Ch'ien-fo-tung* 千佛洞 paintings of *Tun-huang*.<sup>41</sup>

The excavations made by Grünwedel and von LeCoq, Sir Aurel Stein, Paul Pelliot, and others, have furnished us with an abundance of links showing the development of the type of the *Mahārājas*.

In more recent times we find a certain uniformity of bodily appearance, attire, and pose, as well as of their individual attributes. It is surprising that the crouching demons, the »cognizances» on which they stand, do not exactly correspond to those classes of demi-gods, over whom they are supposed to rule according to the texts.

Sir Aurel Stein,<sup>42</sup> classifying his *Tun-huang* finds, distinguishes two types, an older »Central Asian», and a more recent »Chinese», »developed from it under the impulse of art feeling». For this type he enumerates the following chief characteristics:

»Three-quarter profile and sweeping curve of pose; the body thrown out at the waist, the freedom and movement imparted to the drawing mainly by the treatment of flowing drapery; peculiarities in armour and dress, the latter always including sandals or string-shoes. The invariably oblique cut of the eyes and a distinct tendency towards the grotesque, occasionally even the monstrous, are significant for this »Chinese» group».

There are various traditions as to the colours, attributes, locations, and retainers of the Lokapālas. The following table gives what may be a more or less usual arrangement (the Chinese name-plates for *Virūpāksha* and *Dhṛtarāshtra* in this hall have been interchanged), cf. Pl. XI.

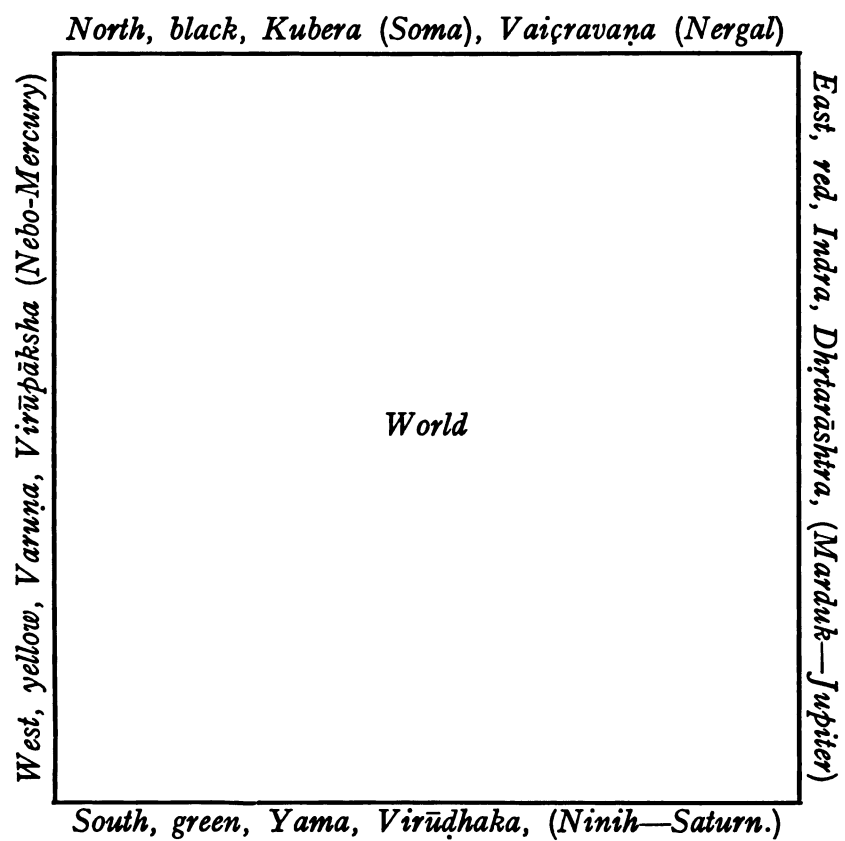
Sketch	Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese, Japanese names:	Colour	Attributes	Treads on	Remarks
No. 2	<i>Vaiçravaṇa</i>	gold or yellow, sometimes white	r. h. banner, lance; l. h. usually pearl or <i>stūpa</i> or, as here, mongoose (S. <i>nakula</i> )	<i>Yakshas</i> (here r. f. rests on shoulder of red demon, l. f. on breast of light- yellow, long- beaked demon). Often rides on lion.	North (cf. No. 6), autumn. Lord of <i>Yakshas</i>
T.	<i>Rnam-thos-sras</i>				
CH.	<i>To-wên</i>				
J.	<i>Tamon</i> 多聞				
No. 3	<i>Virūpāksha</i>	red, reddish- yellow (T. <i>dmars</i> <i>ser</i> ) or green with red beard	r. h. serpent (or noose or drawn sword), l. h. pill or <i>cintā-</i> <i>maṇi</i> (sometimes <i>stūpa</i> , s. No. 2), or vice versa.	demon with human features support- ing his r. f., l. f. on yellow demon	West, winter. Lord of <i>Piçācas</i> and of <i>Nāgas</i>
T.	<i>Mig-mi-bzang</i> , or				
Ch.	<i>Spyan-mi-bzang</i>				
J.	<i>Kwōmoku</i> 廣目				
No. 4	<i>Dhṛtarāshtra</i>	blue, sometimes white	holds, or plays, the <i>viṇā</i> (Indian lute)	r. f.: red animal (monkey), looking upwards, l. f.: shoulder of kneel- ing green demon	South, spring. Lord of <i>Kumbhāṇḍas</i>
T.	<i>Yul-hkhor-srung</i>				
Ch.	<i>Ch'iy-kuo</i>				
J.	<i>Jikoku</i> 持國				
No. 5	<i>Virūdhaka</i>	emerald-green	r. h. holds sword (or club); l. h. making some gesture or passing hand over edge of sword	r. f.: green, human- shaped demon, l. f.: red demon with bird's bill	East or South, sum- mer. Lord of <i>Gandhārvas</i> (Heavenly Musi- cians). Protects <i>Jambudvīpa</i>
T.	<i>Hphags-skye(s)-po</i>				
Ch.	<i>Tséng-chang</i>				
J.	<i>Zōjō</i> 增長				
Separated from them, facing north:					
No. 6	<i>Skanda</i>	gold, in shining armour.	club in r. h.	stands on clouds and waves	General of the <i>De-</i> <i>vas</i> , Protector of the North (see No. 2)
T.	<i>Skem-byed</i>				
Ch.	<i>Szü-chien-t'o</i>				
J.	<i>Shikanda</i> 私建陀				

The perplexing confusion which exists regarding the attributes and the place of the Lokapālas in temple-halls will become obvious from the following list taken from the explanatory volume, accompanying Tokiwa and Sekino's monumental work on the Historical Relics of Chinese Buddhism, *Shina Bukkyō Shiseki Hyōkai*, Vol. 5, pp. 209—10.

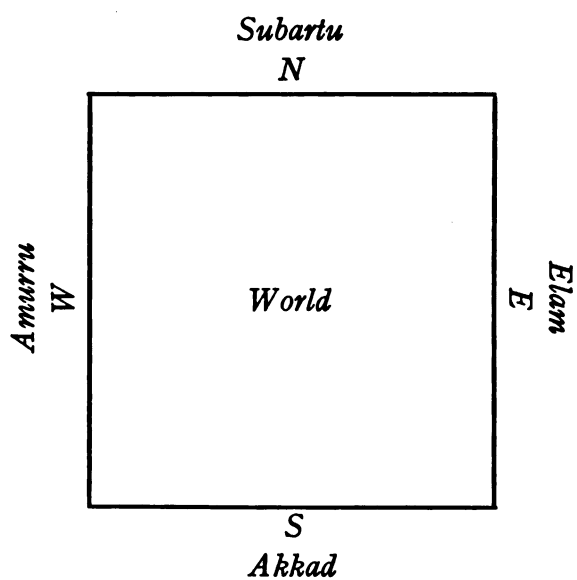
Table of Variants

Locality	NE	SE	SW	NW
<i>Chü-yung-kuan</i> 居庸關 in Chihli, now Hopei province	<i>Dhṛtarāshtra</i> lute	<i>Virūḍhaka</i> sword	<i>Virūpāksha</i> serpent	<i>Vaiṣravaṇa</i> parasol
<i>Wan-nien-ssū</i> 萬年寺 (T'ien-t'ai-shan)	<i>Virūḍhaka</i> lute	<i>Dhṛtarāshtra</i> sword	<i>Vaiṣravaṇa</i> serpent	<i>Virūpāksha</i> parasol
<i>T'ien-t'ung-shan</i> 天童山	<i>Dhṛtarāshtra</i> lute	<i>Virūpāksha</i> parasol	<i>Virūḍhaka</i> sword	<i>Vaiṣravaṇa</i> serpent
<i>P'u-chi-ssū</i> 普濟寺 (P'u-t'o-shan)	<i>Dhṛtarāshtra</i> sword	<i>Virūpāksha</i> lute	<i>Virūḍhaka</i> serpent	<i>Vaiṣravaṇa</i> parasol
<i>Fa-yü-ssū</i> 法雨寺 (P'u-t'o-shan)	<i>Dhṛtarāshtra</i> sword	<i>Virūpāksha</i> lute	<i>Virūḍhaka</i> parasol	<i>Vaiṣravaṇa</i> serpent
<i>Pao-t'ung-ssū</i> 保童寺 (Wu-ch'ang)	<i>Dhṛtarāshtra</i> lute	<i>Virūpāksha</i> sword	<i>Virūḍhaka</i> parasol, stupa	<i>Vaiṣravaṇa</i> serpent, jewel
<i>Kuei-yüan-ssū</i> 歸元寺 (Han-k'ou)	<i>Dhṛtarāshtra</i> serpent	<i>Virūpāksha</i> parasol, stupa	<i>Virūḍhaka</i> sword, mongoose	<i>Vaiṣravaṇa</i> lute
<i>Yung-ho-kung</i>	<i>Virūpāksha</i> serpent pill	<i>Vaiṣravaṇa</i> parasol	<i>Virūḍhaka</i> sword	<i>Dhṛtarāshtra</i> lute

The confusion characteristic of the disposition, colours, and attributes of the Lokapālas in contemporary temples prompts the question how those various factors were represented in non-Buddhist and possibly pre-Buddhist symbolism. The following table shows the Brahmanic and Buddhistic arrangement combined with the Babylonian gods and their equivalents (their names being given in brackets):



The Babylonian system finds its prototype in the »Geography of Sargon« (about 2600 B. C.).





Time and space forbid delving into this fascinating subject.<sup>43</sup>

In the »Album of the Five Hundred Gods» *Dhṛtarāshṭra* appears sitting on a recumbent elephant, the right leg slightly pendant, the left leg bent. His mantra is *Om dhṛ svāhā*. *Virūdhaka*, wearing the elephant-helmet known from the coins of the Helleno-Bactrian king *Demetrios*, holds the sword in his right hand, horizontally to his body, his left hand touching its edge — a wellknown stage pose of the Chinese actor impersonating a warrior (*wu-sheng* 武生). He has a flowing beard and is seated on a bull. His mantra reads: *Om Virūdhaka svāha, om vi svāhā*.

*Virūpāksha* occurs twice in this album. The attributes are the same as given in the table, but in one case they are distributed thus: r. h. snake, l. h. stupa. The mantra reads: *Om ksha svāhā*.

## THE GUARDIANS OF THE WORLD IN BUDDHIST LEGEND

The catholic, in fact too catholic attitude of Mahayana Buddhism towards other creeds, led it to creating a pantheon which outdid all its competitors. This was attained in part by personification of abstractions, in part by giving citizenship to alien divinities. In the latter case, legends were invented calculated to facilitate the admission of the immigrants. So it was told that the *Lokapālas* had, during innumerable *kalpas* (aeons), served and 'protected' innumerable Buddhas and thus planted a root of goodness (*kuṣala-mūla*).

They had offered gifts to the new-born Buddha, seated him on a table (throne) of jade, held the four hoofs of his horse when he left his home to seek salvation, offered him golden alms bowls,<sup>44</sup> etc. So the rôle they play in the Buddha legend resembles that of the Holy Sages in the gospel, who, as it will be remembered, are also distinguished by their different colour.

There are various legends regarding their origin. One tradition relates that they were born on the knees of the gods. This sounds like a solid old myth. Buddhism, however, always anxious to explain the *raison d'être* of everything, and handling the metamorphoses with baffling ingenuity, invented or adapted the following legend:

When the world was created two snake-demons (*Nāgas*) lived on a high mountain. They were much harassed by two snake-eating birds (*Garuḍas*) and in their plight they took refuge in the *Buddha*. He gave them strength (*adhisthāna*) to withstand the attacks of the *Garuḍas*. Thereupon the *Garuḍas* asked them how they got their strength. »The Buddha», they replied, »throws his splendour upon us, so nobody may harm us». Thereupon the *Garuḍas* also embraced the Buddhist creed, and all four of them are now *Lokapālas*. *Virūpāksha* and *Vaiṣravaṇa* are supposed to be metamorphoses of the *Nāgas*, *Dhṛtarāshṭra* and *Virūdhaka* of the

Garudas. This is one of the Buddhist legends used to bring about a reconciliation between the inimical animals.

Since then the Lokapālas are supposed to have performed their rôles as protectors and defenders of all living beings. They lend their assistance to princes, peoples, and countries,<sup>45</sup> ward off calamities, see to it that sun, moon, and stars do not lose their power, and are in charge of the weather. They bestow riches, which, however, is more of a special function of *Vaiçravaṇa*'s. It is even claimed that they inspire mankind to act morally.

In an album depicting the spiritual pedigree of the *Pan-chen-rin-po-che* preserved in the *Staatliche Museum für Völkerkunde* in Berlin, there is a painting which shows *Subhūti* preaching to the Nāgas.<sup>46</sup> At the lower corner of the painting the Four *Mahārājas* are represented, to indicate that they summoned the Nāgas for *Subhūti*, on account of the close relationship between the Lokapālas and the Nāgas in iconography and myth.

As already stated, *Vaiçravaṇa* is the most outstanding of the Lokapālas, being a protector of the cosmos, as here, a guardian of the faith (Hall VI), and the chief of the gods of wealth (Hall II). Although these demi-gods play but a menial rôle in the regular cult — as a matter of fact, they act, as lamas sometimes facetiously put it, »merely as policemen in the major services« — they are conspicuous enough both in iconography and legend to warrant a longer discussion as to their antecedents and personalities.

## THE GUARDIANS OF THE WORLD IN PRE-BUDDHIST CHINA

If, on the one hand, there is no doubt that the images of the *Lokapālas* found in China in spite of all subsequent »Sinifications« go back to non-Chinese prototypes, it is, on the other hand, almost certain that these mythical personalities were already known in China in its pre-Buddhistic days. In corroboration of this view the present writer may be permitted to translate a letter which Dr. Otto Mänchen addressed to him from New York under the date of September 18, 1938.

»The Lord of the South is *Chu-yung* 祝融. In the *Shan-hai-ching*, chapter 6, we read: 南方祝融人面乘兩龍. (In the South there is *Chu-yung* with a human face, riding on two dragons or snakes. F. D. L.). One would like to know what animal the body mentioned in the text resembles. It seems that a rich tradition existed about *Chu-yung*. In the *Shan-hai-ching* various fragments of it are found, e. g. in Ch. 16, where *Chu-yung* is the ancestor of the singers (query: *Gandharvas*? F. D. L.), in Ch. 18, where his son is called *Kung-kung* 共工, and once more in Ch. 18, where it says that he killed *Kun* 鯀 by order of *Ti* 帝 »the Lord«. *Szū-ma Ch'ien* states that he does not fight *Kun*, but another monster of pre-historic times, *Kung-kung*, who according to the *Shan-hai-ching* is his son.

Various circumstances seem to indicate that *Chu-yung* is an old sun-god, particularly in the State of *Ch'u*. Its rulers are scions of *Chung-li*.<sup>47</sup> Their ancestor *Chung-li* received the honorific epithet *Chu-yung* because he filled the skies with pure splendour and made them great and because the splendour of his virtue illuminated the Four Seas (*Kuo-yü*, *Ch'u-yü*, 16, 2 a). Regarding *Chu-yung* the Historical Records (*Shih-chi* 40, 1 a) say: *Chu-yung* is the Lord of Fire; therefore *Ch'u* ranks with fire (*Tso-chuan*, Legge, 624—6), *Kuei* has to face extinction because, in spite of being a branch of *Ch'u*, it does not sacrifice to *Chu-yung* (*Tso-chuan*, Legge, 197—9; *Shih-chi* 40, 6 a). On the *Chu-yung* peak 祝融峯 the Taoists salute the rising sun with loud shouts (*T'u-shu-chi-ch'êng* VI 1251, 13 b), etc.

*Chu-yung* is lord of the South also according to the following sources: *Lü shih Ch'un-ch'iu* 22, 10 b; *Huai-nan Tzû* 21 b—23 a; 3, 4 a—b; *Yüeh-chüeh-shu* 4, 4 a; *Chia-yü* 6, 1 a.

It seems that *Chu-yung*, as god of the Sun and lord of the South, occupied such a fixed position that another lord of the South, whom we have to integrate into a system to be discussed below, could not displace him. To this system belong:

Name	Direction	<i>Shan-hai-ching</i>
<i>Yü-chiang</i> 禺彊	N	Ch. 8
<i>Ju-shou</i> 蓐收	W	Ch. 7
<i>Kou-mang</i> 苟芒	E	Ch. 9

In systems which mention all the four lords, *Yü-chiang* does not occur. But it seems that he originally had some connection or other with the North. Besides 禺彊 we find 禺强 (*Chuang Tzû* 6, 7 a), and 禺京 (*Shan-hai-ching* 14), which seems to preclude the possibility of translating it by »Anfangsgrenze» (Wilhelm, *Liā-Dsī*, p. 50). The oldest passage mentioning *Yü-chiang* is *Lieh Tzû* 5, 3 b. God orders him to bring the giant tortoises, on which the five cosmic mountains rest. That this is an idea of Indian provenance has already been discovered by A. Conrady, which of course does not prove that *Yü-chiang* too was originally a figure of the Indian myth. (It is true that the names of the other seven wind-gods, with whom he is mentioned in *Huai-nan Tzû* 4, 15 b, sound very un-Chinese). He generates the *Pu-chou*-wind, and this wind is let in through the north gate of the *K'un-lun* mountain. (*Huai-nan Tzû* 4, 36). *Chuang Tzû* (1 c) and *Lü shih Ch'un-ch'iu* 22, 10 b, place *Yü-chiang* also in the North.

Chapter 8 of the *Shan-hai-ching* describes him thus: 人面鳥身珥兩青蛇踐兩青蛇 a human face, with the body of a bird, having two green-blue snakes for ear-ornaments and treading on two green-blue snakes. Chapter 14 differs, saying that he stands on two red snakes.<sup>48</sup> *Yü-chiang* also belongs in a system of the Lords of the Seas. They are:

Name	Quarter	Description	<i>Shan-hai-ching</i>
Yü-hao 禺貌	Eastern Sea	Human face, bird's body, ear-ornament: two yellow snakes; treads on 2 yellow snakes.	14
Yên-tzũ 弁茲	Western Sea	As above, but ear-orna- ment: two green snakes; treads on 2 red snakes.	16
<i>Pu-t'ing-hu-yü</i> 不庭胡余	Southern Sea	Human face (see below), ear-ornaments: s. No. 2, treads on: s. No. 2.	15

As *Yü-chiang* has the body of a bird, it must, of course, be supplemented for *Pu-t'ing-hu-yü* (i. e. *Hu-yü* of the *Pu-t'ing-shan*). The writer has not found anything elsewhere regarding him and *Yên-tzũ*.

*Ju-shou* is well known from the various systems as 'Lord of the West'. The *Shan-hai-ching* describes him as: 左耳有蛇乘兩龍. (In his left ear he has a snake, or snakes, he rides on or with two dragons, F. D. L.).<sup>49</sup> In the *Kuo-yü*, *Ch'in-yü* 2, 5 a, he appears with white hair and a tiger's claws in the western corner of the temple, viz. the White Tiger of the West (有 instead of 白?).

In *Mo Ti* 8, 13 a—b, *Kou-mang* has the body of a bird as in the *Shan-hai-ching* (鳥身人面乘兩龍). In several systems he belongs to the East. The information may be tabulated thus:

Cardinal point	Name	Shape	Vehicle	Remarks
S	<i>Chu-yung</i>	body of animal, human face.	drives with two dragons.	Old sun-god.
E	<i>Kou-mang</i>	body of bird, hu- man face.	do.	
N	<i>Yü-chiang</i>	body of bird.	stands on snake(s),	
W	<i>Ju-shou</i>		drives with two dragons.	

*Chien* 踐 »to tread or stand on something« is used in the *Shan-hai-ching* only in describing birds or bird-like animals. It is presumably not too bold to ascribe a bird-like shape to *Ju-shou* too. Unfortunately we do not know anything regarding the colours of the bodies of these birds.

But even so it will be difficult to separate these Chinese *Lokapālas* from those of India. One even feels tempted to translate *ch'êng liang lung* 乘兩龍 by: »their *vāhana* are two dragons«.

The writer does not mean to say that these four gods hail from India directly. In view of their great age (and that is particularly true of *Chu-yung*) there is no question about that. But the Indian Guardians of the Universe were originally independent individuals. The assignation of the lords of the four cardinal points is, however, not directly due to Indian influence. But it would seem that »standing on snakes», »driving with dragons», too closely agrees with Indian ideas (to deny any connection). Is it not true that pre-Buddhist, bird-shaped Lokapālas, or simply such with birds' heads or only with a bird's beak occur in India?» (End of Dr. Mänchen's letter.)<sup>50</sup>

It would seem as if we should assume these analogies in the cosmic system to belong to a religious stratum dating from »prescriptural» times and common to the major part of Asia; or that they originated in some hypothetical centre from which they followed the routes of military conquest or peaceful penetration and found their way into those two large areas of indigenous civilizations. The portrait of the Four Guardians of the Universe, as we are able to trace it from sources of recent Chinese mythology, does not seem to have preserved many of the features of its pre-Buddhist ancestors in China. It would appear as if their more colourful, more human Buddhistic counterparts have succeeded in completely eclipsing them. This may be illustrated by a description of the role they play in the famous semi-mythological, semi-historical epic *Fêng-shên-yen-i* 封神演義 (dating from the *Ming* period)<sup>51</sup> as partisans of the house of *Shang* in its struggle with the rising power of *Chou*. Their names are given as *Mo-li Ch'ing* 魔靑, *Mo-li Hung* 洪 or 紅 *Mo-li Hai* 海, and *Mo-li Shou*.

The first two syllables which appear here as a quasi-surname are in fact a transliteration of S. *Māra*. Probably there is here some curious reference to the familiar *Caturmāra*, Ch. *Szū-mo* 四魔, »Four Māras» who support the lion-throne of *Çākyamuni* (H. III). Each of them corresponds in later Buddhist mythology to one Hindu god. Their names and colours are given in the *Sāadhanamālā* as follows (their Hindu equivalents are arranged here according to the colours, no textual evidence being available):

	Name	Colour	Hindu god
1.	<i>Skandha-māra</i> ( <i>Māra</i> of the Five <i>skandhas</i> or groups).	yellow ( <i>gaura</i> )	<i>Soma</i> <i>Kubera</i> ?
2.	<i>Kleṣa-māra</i> (Defilement <i>Māra</i> ).	red ( <i>rakta</i> )	<i>Varuṇa</i>
3.	<i>Mṛtyu-māra</i> ( <i>Māra</i> of Death).	blue-black ( <i>kṛshṇa</i> , <i>nīla</i> )	<i>Yama</i> ? <i>Agni</i> ?
4.	<i>Devaputra-māra</i> ( <i>Māra</i> , Son of the Gods).	green ( <i>çyāma</i> )	<i>Indra</i> ?

In the *Fêng-shên-yen-i* they are described as four brothers. The eldest, *Mo-li Ch'ing*, carries a sword, the »Blue Cloud» (*ch'ing-yün* 青雲). On its edge a charm is engraved with the four characters *ti shui huo fêng* 地水火風 earth, water, fire, wind or air (the four elements of Hindu cosmology). On striking a person this wind severs the limbs from the body. The sword is also able to produce fire, the air is filled with golden fiery snakes, a cyclone of black smoke rises, blinds the eyes and burns the victims.

Like *Vaiçravaṇa*, *Mo-li Hung* carries the parasol which is qualified as the »parasol of chaos». It is made of strings of magic pearls. A mosaic of delicate pearls forms the characters:

裝 戴 乾 坤

*Chuang-tsai ch'ien-k'un*

»(It) contains and carries Heaven and Earth». When opened, the sun and moon will be eclipsed; when shaken, the world will quake.

*Mo-li Hai* carries a lute (*vīṇā*) on a bandoleer, like *Dhṛtarāshtra*, and a lance. The lute influences the four elements in a magic manner and twanging the strings arouses the winds.

*Mo-li Shou* carries two ships and an animal called *hua-hu-tiao* 花狐貂. This attribute connects him with *Vaiçravaṇa*. The animal, when released, assumes the shape of a white winged elephant and devours all enemies.

The novel relates that in spite of their initial successes the four brothers die in battle against their Chinese adversaries.<sup>52</sup> Curiously enough it is by their defeat that they become fully privileged denizens of the Chinese Taoist Heaven. They are resuscitated by *Chiang Tzū-ya* 姜子牙, the great hero fighting for the *Chou* dynasty; thereupon they are raised to the dignity of Great Deva Kings and entrusted with the important task of controlling the weather. They are required to see that *feng t'iao yü-shun* 風調雨順, »the wind be regulated and the rain seasonable».

*Mo-li Ch'ing*, alias *Tsêng-chang* 增長 (i. e. *Virūdhaka*), then produces wind with his magic sword, which whizzes, when brandished. *Mo-li Hung*, alias *Kuang-mu* 廣目 (*Virūpāksha*), regulates it by tuning his lute or guitar (to regulate and to tune being the same word, namely *t'iao* 調, *supra*). *Mo-li Hai*, alias *To-wên* 多聞 (*Vaiçravaṇa*) produces rain with his umbrella of pearls (*yü-shan* 雨傘). The parasol may be interpreted as an umbrella which both produces and wards off rain. The pearls suggest raindrops: an example of sympathetic magic. *Mo-li Shou*, alias *Ch'ih-kuo* 持國 (*Dhṛtarāshtra*) has command over the red dragon to regulate the rainfall. The *hua-hu-t'iao* that he carries (*supra*) is also called *ch'en* 辰, a word which suggests to the Chinese ear the sound *shun* of the character 順 »favourable», »seasonable», (*viz.* rain).<sup>53</sup>

## THE GUARDIANS OF THE WORLD IN EUROPE

The *Lokapālas* seem even to have been denizens of Europe for centuries, although incognito, so to speak, and therefore not recognized as such. Miss Anna Bernhardt has published a fascinating study on this subject.<sup>54</sup>

She reviews briefly the history of playing cards and chess, which she thinks »are closely related». <sup>55</sup> She gives an interesting excerpt from the manuscript of Rey D. Alfonso el Sabio's *Tratado de Ajedrez*, 1283 A.D., which definitely proves that chess and, by implication, card-games are cosmic games, having reference to the four seasons, elements, colours, and human temperaments.

The four »sides» of the early chess-board displayed four different colours. Miss Bernhardt finds analogous ideas as to the cosmic character of the game in the *Szū-wei-fu* 四維賦 by *Li Hsiu* 李秀, *Chin* dynasty (265—419). The relation of chess and card-games to astrology has already been recognized by other authors on the subject. They reflect the battles of the planets, *graha-yuddha*, as represented in the *Bṛhat-Sanhitā* of *Varāha-mihira*.<sup>56</sup>

The fact that we have indications of four kings, instead of two, in certain types of Indian chess,<sup>57</sup> corroborates the author's assumption that in chess, and in card-games, our four *Lokapālas* survive in some form or other, either in visible shape or, by their attributes.<sup>58</sup> The queen of our chess may have been transformed from a sub-king belonging to the *maṇḍala* and, in cases of emergency, acting as a representative of the *Mahārāja*, otherwise it would be difficult to explain her presence on the battlefield. For all details the reader is referred to Miss Bernhardt's interesting study.

## THE GUARDIANS OF THE WORLD IN RITUAL

It has been said above that the Four *Lokapālas* play but a minor part in the regular ritual. They are, however, invoked at least in one interesting rite, which is described here in concluding this sketch. The writer has been unable to secure the text dealing with it and has never seen the rite performed; so the description is based on oral information obtained from the lamas.

Having made initial recitations (refuge formula, etc.) the lama divides the courtyard of his house into an Eastern, Southern, Western, Northern, and Central section. On the roof of each house he hoists a flag about seven inches square: white (E), yellow (S), red (W), green (N), for the Four Guardians or Heavenly Kings. In the centre a blue flag is hoisted for the twenty-eight lunar mansions (*nakshatras*), considered to be their daughters. Each of the *Lokapālas* is in charge of one of the Four Elements (*mahābhūta*), fire (hot), water (liquid), air

(movable), earth (solid), constituting the Universe (macrocosmos) as well as human nature (microcosmos).<sup>59</sup>

Illness, the result of evil actions (*karma*) committed either in this or previous existences, indicates that the right proportion between these elements has been upset.

On each flag a spell (*dhāraṇī*) is written: *Oṃ maṇi padme hūm*. Moved by the wind, this spell will display its magical power and call forth the assistance of the gods (i. e. the Lokapālas, etc.) in dispelling sickness and conferring blessings.

This rite is usually performed in private houses. It seems that the T. *mdos*,<sup>60</sup> the »thread-traps» for the *btsan* or demons of illness are used here.

### SKANDA — VEDA, PROTECTOR OF TEMPLES

*Veda*, Wei-t'o 韋陀, or correctly *Skanda* (*infra*), standing on clouds, armed with a club. His mild, smooth face presents the youthful type of a *kumāra* (Ch. *t'ung* 童) which contrasts with his martial accoutrement and the heroic, almost angry mien of the Four Kings, the head of whom he is sometimes regarded to be. His aureole is formed of conventionalized clouds which suggest the S. epithet *khecara*, »sky-walker», qualifying the Indian god of war *Kārttikeya*, who is more or less identical with *Skanda*. The background is formed of rocks. His »cognizance» or attribute is a club, which he either carries upright on the palm of his right hand, as here, or over both arms, when he joins the palms of his hands in adoration (*anjali*). This is the attitude he very frequently adopts in the presence of *Kuan-yin* (*Avalokiteśvara* see Hall IX).

His correct Sanskrit name appears to be not *Veda* but *Skanda*, who is the Indian Heavenly General and God of War.<sup>61</sup> This name was rendered in Chinese as *Szū-chien-t'o* (ancient approximate pronunciation *Si-kan-d'a* 私建陀, etc.). This, through apocope, gives *Kan-d'a*, and a graphical error caused by the similarity of the characters 建 and 遠 (the latter has in modern Chinese the sound *wei*) led to the erroneous form of his current Chinese name. That again caused an acoustic mistake confusing him with the *Vetālas*, the well-known class of demons (»vampires») in Indian folk-lore credited with the power of reanimating dead bodies and taking possession of them (the *ch'i-shih-kuei* 起屍鬼 of the Chinese, the *ro-langs* of Tibetan folk-lore). Another mistake confused this erroneous form of his name with the *Vedas*, whereas his correct Sanskrit name *Skanda* was interpreted as identical with *skandha* meaning shoulder or group.<sup>62</sup>

In the biography of *Hsüan-tsang* he is described as the leader of all the *kuei-shên* (gods and demons) whom the Buddha, on the point of entering *Nirvāṇa*, charged with the protection of the Law in *Jambudvīpa*.



*Tao-hsüan*, J. *Dōsen* 道宣, (596—667) founder of the *Lü* 律 (*Vinaya*) sect, who propagated *Skanda*'s cult in China, writes in his *Chi Shên-chou San-pao Kan-t'ung-lu* 集神州三寶威通錄 (TTP, No. 2106, Vol. 52, pp. 404—435) that *Skanda* succours, »in a way required by the circumstances«, those who are weak in religious efforts, or who are molested by male or female demons (*Vetālas?*).

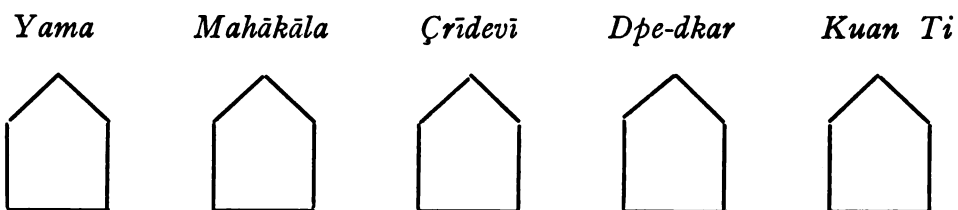
*Skanda* is known for his swiftness (*khecara*, sky-walker, *supra*), and also for his pure Brahmanic conduct (清淨梵行 *subrahmanya*, epithet of *Skanda-Kārttikeya*). That again is reflected in the mild, passionless expression of his face. It is not surprising to find a divinity of that character being exalted by this particular sect, of which *Tao-hsüan* was the most renowned exponent.

Orthodox lamas object to the position and rank held by *Skanda* as they do to the presence of *Pu-tai Ho-shang*. This whole assembly of clownish (*ch'ou* 丑) *Pu-tai*, the Four Lokapālas with their stage heroism of »military actors« (*wu-shêng* 武生), and the »young hero« (*hsiao-shêng* 小生) *Skanda* may remind them somehow of a Chinese »military play«. In fact they use this hall for a performance, which, to the uninitiated at least, resembles more a play than a serious service.

## THE RITE OF PHAR-PHYIN-SDOM

The only service the writer witnessed in this hall (October 23—25, 1931) may be briefly described here, leaving to more fortunate observers a detailed study and interpretation. The Tibetan name for this service is *Phar-phyin-sdom* (*Pāramitā-samvara*) the Vow of the *Pāramitās*, the Buddhist cardinal virtues or practices. It is performed every three years in honour of *Tsong-kha-pa*, and is repeated for three days, beginning at dark.

The sober aspect of the hall is transformed for this purpose into one of mystery and solemnity. A large table (T. *mchod-lcog* or *mchod-stegs*) is placed in front of the »Laughing Buddha«, and upon the table there are placed red painted offering cakes (*bali*, T. *gtor-ma*), made of dough, in honour of a pentad of deities in the following order:



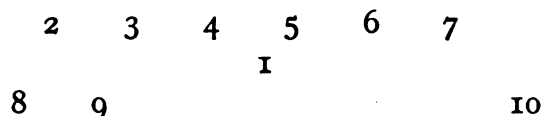
To this arrangement are added:

white offering cakes for *Tsong-kha-pa* and his four disciples,  
skull bowls for the above deities,  
eight insignia (see Hall III).

In the row behind these offering cakes, at the western end of the table, is placed the *bali* for the »Five Bodies» (*Skū-lnga*, see Hall IV). The rough outline of these cakes is as given above; their height is about 30 cm.

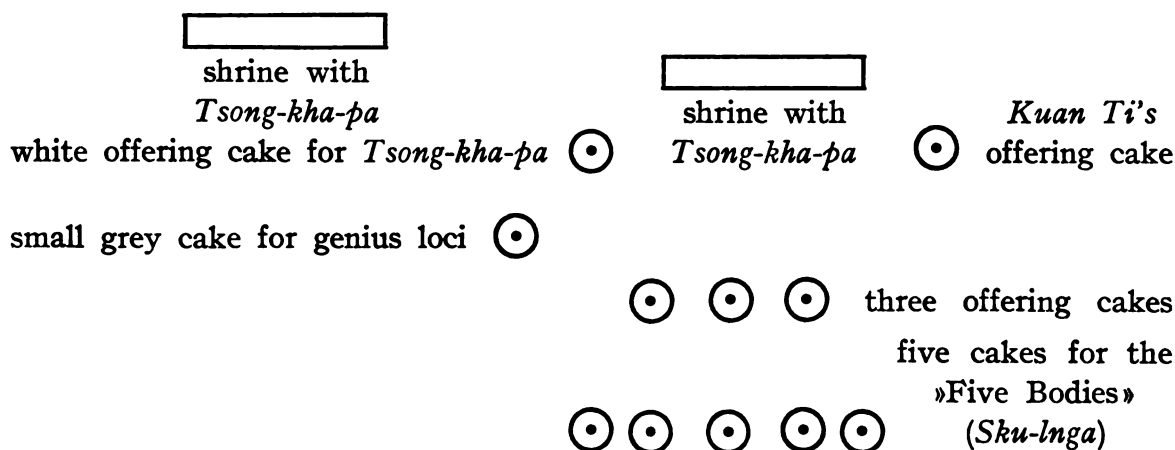
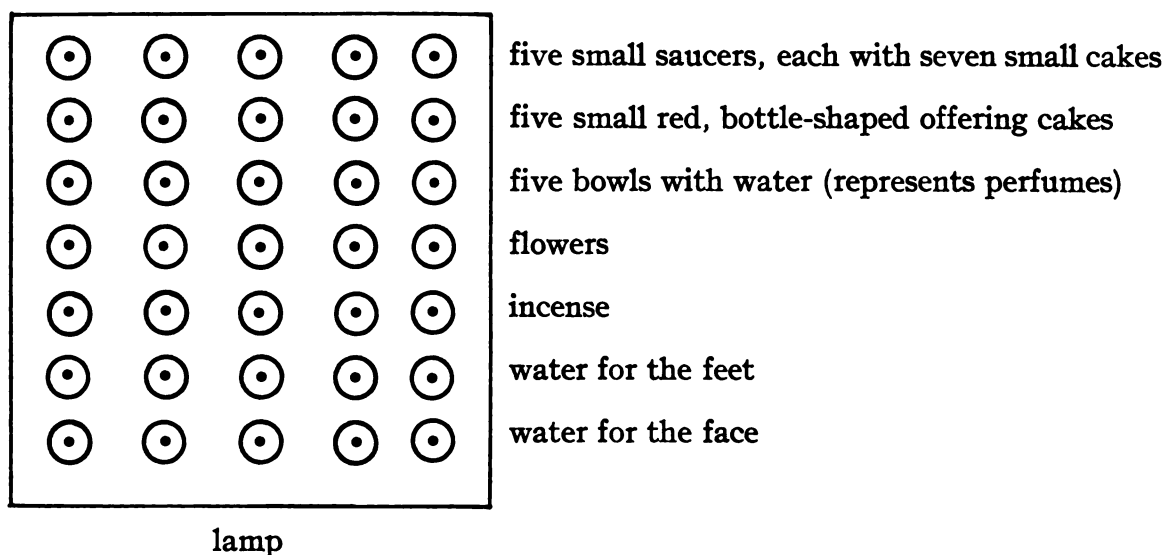
At the upper ends the cakes are decorated with designs of the sun and the moon, the centre is marked by a lotus resembling a rosette. The *bali* for *Dpe-kar* is entirely different from the others.

The paintings of all the deities concerned were suspended from the ceiling above this offering table, the picture of *Tsong-kha-pa*, who was the object of the ceremony, occupying the centre. It showed, as far as could be seen from below, the following conclave of divinities:




1. *Tsong-kha-pa*.
2. }  
3. } Grand Lamas, disciples of 1.  
6. }  
7. }
4. a Buddha, probably *Vajradhara* (see Hall II, second floor).
5. *Yamāntaka* (see Halls VI and XI).
8. Green *Tārā* (see Hall X).
9. *Çrīdevī* (see Hall VI).
10. *Skū-lnga* (see Hall IV).

In the western section of the hall there hung a painting depicting the »assembly of gods» (T. *tshogs-shing*) presided over by *Çākyamuni*, and under it another picture representing the four Lokapālas. In front of the oblong offering table there was placed a square table with the *gaṇapūjā*, *tshogs-mchod* or universal offering arranged as follows:



The ceremony starts with riotous fun, lamas playing pranks and practical jokes on one another. For some time they indulge in imitating a *chos-grva* (pron. chörö) disputation (see Hall XVI). The winner sits on his opponent's shoulders, pulling his ears and his nose, much to the amusement of the crowd. For this reason the Chinese call this ceremony *nien ta-ha-ha-ching*, 念打哈哈經 the »laughter (or mock) service« (Pl. VII, 1).

At a given moment the play ceases and the regular sutras commence. Suddenly two newcomers rush in, shout at the lamas seemingly absorbed in their chanting, deprive them of their yellow caps with which they beat them in the face, and disappear without the victims of this maltreatment even as much as looking up from their scriptures. The chanting rises and falls in slow, solemn rhythm, each sentence consisting of nine, later of seven, syllables.

Novices bring tea in copper kettles from the lamas' living quarters, and pour it into the bowls which the lamas produce from inside their cassocks. Simultaneously two older lamas of solemn mien appear, wearing crown-shaped caps , and clad in golden-yellow brocade, over which they wear dark-red narrow shawls (*samkakshikās*). After the tea offering (T. *ja-mchod*), one of these two lamas steps to the front of the offering table in the middle of the gathering and says a prayer. Following this, he places a white scarf (T. *kha-btags*, M. *khatak*) on the table which he touches with his forehead and gives a scarf to each of the officiating lamas.

After the intermission the chanting is resumed, this time in a peculiar, drawling tone which rises slowly but steadily, sustaining a high pitch for some time and then descending gradually. A curious hiccupping interrupts this plaintive air.

Suddenly two novices rush from the lamas' living quarters, both in odd disguise: One of them is *Hsüan-tsang* 玄奘, popularly known as *T'ang Sêng* 唐僧, »the monk of the *T'ang*«, but he is clad as a lama of the Yellow Church. Yet, his mask is unmistakable. His acolyte represents *Sun Wu-k'ung* 孫悟空, generally known as the »monkey *Sun*« 孫猴, who is supposed to have accompanied his master on his journey to India. He carries a stick. His face is red, as usual, but a yellow cloth covers his head, a regular Mongolian *sire alcor*, which contrasts to his usual attire. After a short lapse of time, more strange figures make their appearance. One of them, with a black face, displaying the *pu-ting* 補丁, the badge of the Manchu official, and carrying a rake over his shoulder, impersonates *Chu Pa-chieh* 豬八戒, »the pig«. He also accompanied *Hsüan-tsang* on his trip to India. Even *Kuan Ti*, the famous hero of the Three States (*Kuan Yü*, 162—219) seems to have stepped from his picture in Hall VIII and joined these three Buddhist worthies. They rush up to the offering table, make obeisance, and commence to frolic. They play pranks, make fun of the lamas, dance and romp, and finally disappear into the evening dusk like spectres devoured by darkness. After this not unwelcome interruption, the chanting recommences (Pl. VII, 2).

The lamas endeavour to shroud the whole performance in secrecy. They withhold information as to which texts are used and the meaning of the ludicrous intermezzos in the ceremony. The characters represented are changed every evening.

# C O U R T I V

Leaving the Hall of the Lokapālas we enter a raised pathway (Ch. *yung-lu* or *yung-tao* 甬路 or 道) communicating with the wide terrace in front of the third hall. The pathway runs through the central longitudinal axis of the fourth court, which in the east and west, is hemmed in by two two-storeyed buildings, Halls II and XVI, and in the north by the stately Hall III with its mighty yellow roof and wide terrace.

The centre of the court is marked by a pavilion sheltering an Imperial inscription in front of which an elaborate incense burner is placed, marking half the distance between the rear of Hall I and the pavilion (Pl. XIV).

The whole arrangement is of a rigid regularity, but the liberal disposition of space generally so remarkable in Chinese architectural plans is not felt here nor in the courts which follow. All of them are crowded and crammed with structures leaving no freedom to the individual buildings to display their beauty.

The bronze incense burner (Ch. *hsiang-lu* 香爐) is of a form typical for these vessels as in use in Chinese temples. The Emperor *Ch'ien-lung*, in the tenth year of his reign (1745), ordered twin incense burners to be cast. One of them was installed in the *Chan-t'an-ssü* 旃檀寺 »Temple of the Sandal-wood«, viz. Buddha, an old temple in the West City of Peking. This incense-burner disappeared when the temple was destroyed during the Boxer uprising in 1900.

The vessel in the *Yung-ho-kung* was originally reserved for sacrifices which the Emperor made personally to the manes of his father. It is placed on a basin-shaped bronze stand which rests on a marble basis. The elaborate bronze stand is adorned with lotus patterns and, on its horizontal surface, with three small lions shown in lively action, playing with the »embroidered ball«. <sup>1d</sup> They are so disposed on the surface as to match the three strong legs, on which the tripod- (Ch. *ting* 鼎) shaped body of the vessel rests. The upper part of the legs display finely chiselled lions' heads and end in plain strong hoofs. The ensemble is a perfect symbol of strength and rhythm.

The powerful belly of the vessel shows a rich decoration consisting of gracefully bent scroll designs (*ts'ao-hua-kuai-tzũ* 草花拐子). Strong, S-shaped handles decorated with the same meander pattern as the brim of the vessel, add to the general impression of vigour and steadfastness. Contrasting with it is the »lid« which has the shape of a lofty, double-roofed structure ending in a strong knob.

It is conceived entirely as a piece of architecture, reminding us, in its circular construction, of the circular *t'ing* 亭 represented in the *Ch'i-nien-tien* 祈年殿, a temple connected with the Altar of Heaven, and the *Hsü-kuang-ko* of the *P'u-lo-tien* 普樂殿 in *Jehol* representing *Samvara's* palace (*maṇḍala*).

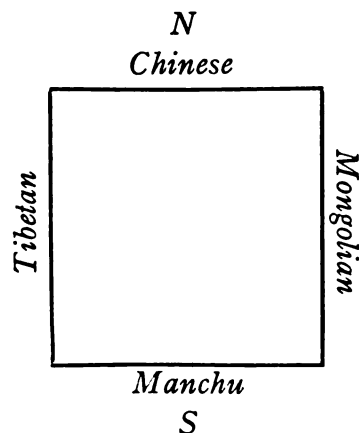
The pillars and beams of this superstructure frame six openings decorated with wriggling dragons in fretwork. A superb brown-greenish patina enhances the beauty of this masterpiece of Chinese bronze casting.

The kiosk or pavilion (Ch. *pei-t'ing* 碑亭 or *pei-lou* 碑樓) shows forms which impress us by that simplicity which, combined with the judiciously chosen colours, makes Chinese architecture so picturesque. But its proportions are a failure, its square ground-plan occupying nearly the whole width of the raised path. Two weighty, yellow-tiled roofs crowned by a knob of the same colour press too heavily on the twelve pillars which support them. Bricks covered with red plaster fill the space between the corner pillars and the next columns, leaving openings which exactly face the four quarters and simultaneously the entrances of the surrounding halls. Fantastic animals, as usual, decorate the corner ribs of the main and the lean-to shed roofs. The stronger accentuated curvatures of both roofs contribute to breaking the monotony of the straight lines dominating the surrounding buildings (Pl. XIV and XV).

This pavilion must be a later addition in this court, for its presence upsets its whole plan and proportions. We have direct proof of its late date, for there is no reason to believe that it is older than the inscription, for which it was built.

#### CH'IEN-LUNG'S INSCRIPTION ON LAMAISM

The inscription is engraved on a huge marble stele (Ch. *pei-ch'uang* 碑幢) of regular square cross-section. The stele fills the building to its utmost capacity, leaving little space for the reader curious to study the text it bears. The languages of this quadrilingual text are arranged on the marble block in this way:



Below is a translation based on the Chinese text (the Manchu, Mongolian, and Tibetan versions agreeing very closely). The author of the inscription, the Emperor *Ch'ien-lung*, has felt the necessity of commenting upon his own essay. This commentary, as customary, is written in small characters, which practice has been followed in the translation. The original text is found on plates IV—VII of Franke and Laufer's collection of polyglott inscriptions from North China. Minor additions, necessary for a general understanding of the text, have been included in parentheses (Pl. XVI).

»Dissertation on Lama(ism).

Buddhism originated in India and spread eastward to *Hsi-fan*

[i. e. *Tangut* tribes, the country called *San-tsang*].

Its foreign priests are traditionally known as Lamas. The word Lama does not occur in Chinese books. In the official histories of the *Yüan* and *Ming* dynasties it is corrupted into Lama, (written with different characters).

*T'ao Tsung-i* in his *Cho-ching-lu* says that in *Yüan* times the teacher of the Emperor was called *la-ma*. *Mao Ch'i-ling* in his unofficial history of the Emperor *Wu-tsung* of the *Ming* dynasty writes *la-ma*. All these are arbitrary transcriptions of the same sound with different characters.

I have carefully pondered over its meaning and found that *la* in Tibet means »superior» and *ma* means »none». So *la-ma* means »without superior», just as in Chinese a priest is called »superior» (*shang-jên*). Lama(ism) also stands for Yellow Religion. Beginning from the time of the illustrious monk *Hphags-pa* of the *Hsi-fan*, it flourished under the *Yüan* and continued up to the *Ming* (and during all this time) there were monks upon whom were bestowed the honorary titles »Teacher of the Emperor» or »Teacher of the Empire».

(The Emperor) *Shih-tsu* (1280—1294) of the *Yüan* dynasty first bestowed the title of »Teacher of the Empire» upon *Hphags-pa*. Thereupon he gave him the title of *Ta-pao-fa-wang* and honoured him with the appellation »Teacher of the Emperor». At the same time there was a man of the name of *Bstan-pa* who was also distinguished by the title of »Teacher of the Emperor», while several other persons were styled »Teacher of the Empire». The Emperor *Hung-wu* (1368—1398) of the *Ming* dynasty, in the first years of his reign, at first bestowed the dignity »Great Teacher of the Empire» only upon four or five persons. During the reign of *Yung-lo* (1403—1424) two people received the title »Kings of the Law» and two »Sons of the Buddha of the Western Heaven». Besides there were nine »Consecrated Great Teachers of the Empire» and eighteen »Consecrated Teachers of the Empire». During the reigns of *Ching-t'ai* (1450—1457) and *Ch'êng-hua* (1465—1487) instances of bestowing these titles were very numerous.

During Our dynasty there was only one instance of such action during the reign of *K'ang-hsi* (1662—1722), namely the installing of the *Lcang-skyä*, »Teacher of the Empire», a dignity which continues until now.

Although Our dynasty patronizes the Yellow Church, it has never bestowed the title of »Teacher of the Emperor». *K'ang-hsi* in the forty-fifth year of his reign promoted, by the Imperial decree, the *Lcang-skyä Khutukhtu* only to the rank of a Consecrated Teacher of the Empire. When this dignitary entered Nirvana, *Yung-chêng* in the twelfth year of his reign (1734), following the precedent (set by his father) bestowed the rank of Teacher of the Empire (upon the first *Lcang-skyä Khutukhtu*'s successor).

The titles of *Dalai Lama* and *Paṇ-chen Erdeni* have only been conferred (by Our dynasty) in continuance of the precedents set by the *Yüan* and *Ming* dynasties.

The Yellow Church originated in the *Ming* dynasty with the Tibetan priest, *Tsong-kha-pa*. He was born in the fifteenth year of *Yung-lo* (1417) and entered Nirvana in the fourteenth year of *Ch'êng-hua* (1478). His two chief disciples are the *Dalai Lama* and the *Paṇ-chen Lama*. The *Dalai Lama's* appellation is *Smon-lam-rgya-mtsho*. He rules over the Yellow Church through generations of spiritual succession. The first (of his successors) was *Dge-hdun-hgrub(sic!)-pa*, the second was *Dge-hdun-rgya-mtsho*, the third was *Bsod-nams-rgya-mtsho*, known in *Ming* times as the «Living Buddha, *So-nan-chien-ts'o*». The fourth was called *Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho*, the fifth, *Ngag-dbang-blo-bzang-rgya-mtsho*. In the seventh year of *Ch'ung-ih* (1642), the *Dalai Lama* and the *Paṇ-chen Erdeni* sent tribute (to Our court). In the eighth year (1643) the *Dalai Lama* and the *Paṇ-chen Khutukhtu* received Imperial letters and the old titles given during the *Yüan* and *Ming* dynasties were confirmed. After the power of the Imperial house had been established, seals of office were conferred upon them with the order to control the Yellow Church inside and outside of China proper.

As the Yellow Church inside and outside (of China proper) is under the supreme rule of these two men, all the Mongol tribes bear allegiance to them. By patronizing the Yellow Church we maintain peace among the Mongols. This being an important task we cannot but protect this (religion). (In doing so) we do not show any bias, nor do we wish to adulate the Tibetan priests as (was done during the) *Yüan* dynasty.

During the *Yüan* dynasty the lamas were worshipped in a way that interfered with the government. This led to abuses which no one dared to question. For instance decrees given by the Teacher of the Emperor had the same force as decrees emanating from the court. At official audiences, while all the officials had to stand at places assigned to them according to rank, the Teacher of the Emperor alone was allowed to remain seated in his place (of honour) in the corner. His disciples bore titles such as Minister of the Interior, Minister of Finance, Duke of the Empire. There was an unbroken succession of them who carried seals of gold or jade. Presuming on their prestige, they carried themselves haughtily and ostentatiously which resulted everywhere in great vexations difficult to describe here exhaustively. They even dared to rob the merchants of their goods in the market of *Shang-tu* without paying, assaulted a high official named *Liu Shou*, and battled for the right of way with an Imperial princess, pulling her from her chariot and beating her. All this went unpunished. Whenever a subject would attack one of these western monks, he would have his hand cut off. When he would revile them they would cut off his tongue: that was the law.

The protection Our reign extends to the Yellow Church is quite different. Since the Mongols worship the Buddha and have implicit faith in the lamas, we must protect it (the Yellow Church) merely in pursuance of Our policy of extending Our affection to the weak.

The hereditary rank of *khutukhtu* is based on the idea that priests have no children and that bestowing it upon their disciples is tantamount to confirming a temporal rank of sons (of noble families). One must, therefore, select an intelligent, wise (monk) in possession of the marks of merits, for creating a *khubilghan*.

(This word) means in Chinese reincarnation (continuing through) generations.

(A person) who has studied in his youth will be called *khutukhtu* after coming of age. This (institution) is only another temporary makeshift dictated by practical needs. (It is a practice) of old standing which cannot be discontinued. To Our surprise, however, it has recently grown into the custom that the *khubilghans*



are mostly born in one clan so that there is no longer any difference from hereditary rank and income. But this is entirely against Our intentions, the more so because the Buddha was never born (or: has no phenomenal life); how could there be (continuous rebirth through) generations? But suppose that we had at present no *khutukhtu* (continuing) through generations, hundreds of thousands of Tibetan priests would have no one in whom to take refuge. So (this institution) is indispensable.

After the first *Dalai Lama* entered Nirvana he was reborn as a *khubilghan* in the first generation in *Çab-dod* in Ulterior Tibet, in the second in *Ta-nad-rdo-rje* in Ulterior Tibet, in the third generation in *Rdo-rengs* in Anterior Tibet, in the fourth generation in the family of *Altan Khan* in Mongolia, in the fifth generation in *Chung-skye* in Anterior Tibet, in the sixth generation in *Li-thang*. The present *Dalai Lama*, the seventh, was born in *Thob-rgyal-la-li-kang* in Ulterior Tibet. They were not born in the same places, and still less in one family. Since the former *Pañ-chen Erdeni* has entered Nirvana, the *khubilghans* of the dignities of the present *Dalai Lama* and the *Pañ-chen Erdeni* recognized and the *Rje-btsun Khutukhtu* worshipped by the four tribes of the *Khalkha* Mongols are passed on among the brothers, uncles, and nephews of the same clans. The practice of inheriting, within the same clan (the rank of) *khubilghans* of Grand Lamas with ruling power in religious matters barely differs from hereditary rank and office. Even within the *khubilghans* worshipped by the various *jasakhs* of Inner and Outer Mongolia, there appears recently a tendency of passing on spiritual dignities according to the method in use with princely or ducal families. So the *Shiregetü Khutukhtu* is the uncle of *Lnga-dbang rdo-rje*; the Imperial prince and the *Gurun-efu* of the *Khalkha*, *Slag-pa Khutukhtu* is the son of *Blo-bzang-rdo-rje*, the Imperial prince of the *Alashan* Mongols, *Noyan Chos-rje Khutukhtu* is the son of *Bkra-çis-yar-hphel*, the *chün-wang* of the *Dürben Khükhel*. The *khubilghan* of *Mkhan-po Nomun Khan Hjam-dpal-rdo-rje* (*Manjuvajra*) is the son of the *Khan* of the *Tosiyato Tshe-lan-rdo-rje*. There are so many similar cases that it is impossible to mention them all. Furthermore when the former *Rje-btsun Dam-pa Khutukhtu* entered Nirvana and the consort of the *Khan* of the *Tosiyato* happened to be with child, they were all convinced that she would give birth to a reincarnation of the *Rje-btsun Dam-pa Khutukhtu*. When her time was full and she gave birth to a daughter, the affair resulted in a scandal which even shook the faith of the Mongols. In consequence of this, *Shva-dmar-pa*, (Red Cap) coveting the riches of *Bra-çis-lhun-pa* (*Ta-shi-lhun-po*), asserted that he was a brother of the former *Pañ-chen Erdeni* and *Drung-ba Khutukhtu* and therefore owned a share (in their possessions). So they instigated the *Gurkhas* to stir up border trouble and to loot Ulterior Tibet. Although the *Gurkhas*, intimidated and reduced to obedience through the great display of Our armed forces, have asked for Our orders in abject submission, if we do not uproot all these evil practices, but allow (those people) to perpetuate them by handing down these dignities (within their own families) (as dictated by their) selfish (interests), the Yellow Church will cease to prosper, and Mongols and Tibetans will fall victims to doubt and contempt and troubles may ensue. We hereby order that whenever a case arises in Tibet of electing a *khubilghan* for a Grand Lama, the four *Chos-skyongs* of *Ramo(-che)* shall, in accordance with their custom, enter into a trance and recite the sutras, and all (people concerned) shall write down the names of the designated *khubilghans*, place them in the golden *bum-pa* (urn) and have the (appropriate) sutras read before the Buddha (*Çäkyamuni*). The *Dalai Lama* or the *Pañ-chen Erdeni* cooperating with Our Residents (*Amban*) in *Lhasa* shall draw the lot and appoint one person as *khubilghan*. Although we cannot eliminate all abuses (by this procedure) it seems to be a great improvement upon the former way of arbitrarily appointing (a *khubilghan*).

Concerning the various great *khubilghans* of Mongolia let the *Li-fan-yüan* (Department of Colonial Affairs) notify (the Mongols) that in conformity with the recently issued decree regarding Tibet, the names of the reported *khubilghans* should be placed in the golden *bum-pa* deposited in the *Yung-ho-kung* in front of the Buddha and that officials of the *Li-fan-yüan* cooperating with the ruling *Jasakh Lama* should draw the lot in order to secure a genuine transmission (of the rank) and prevent strife.

The fact that last year the *Gurkhas*, incited by *Shva-dmar-pa*, looted Tibet is clear proof of this. When I gathered troops to chastise them, they immediately submitted for fear of punishment, and so Tibet was pacified. But if the dignity of

*khubilghan* were transmitted for generations within the same clan that would be egotism. What has the Buddha to do with egotism? This must therefore be terminated.

For this reason I have had a golden urn cast and sent to Tibet. Whenever a *khubilghan* is to be elected, the names of all eligible persons shall be written and placed in the urn. (The person to be appointed) shall be determined by the lot. Although by doing so I cannot entirely eliminate abuses, it seems to be somewhat fairer than by following the former method when one person asserted his will.

If one wishes to judge the merits of a thing, one must be familiar with it and understand the underlying principles. If I had not studied Tibetan scriptures, I should not be able to speak thus. When I started to learn the scriptures I was criticized («by some Chinese», Ma. translation) for being biased towards the Yellow Church.

Now suppose I had merely nourished the vain ambition of clinging to old patterns (as furnished by Chinese books) I could not have hoped to inspire awe and preserve peace among the Old and New Mongol tribes (maintaining order) for several dozens of years (among them), nor would I have been able to chastise the lamas fomenting trouble in Ulterior Tibet.

When the *Gurkhas* last year raided Ulterior Tibet, the *Drung-ba Khutukhtu* had taken flight before they arrived and the Grand Lama *Rje-srung* and *Grva-ishang* and others, relying on their sortilege, declared defence to be impossible which resulted in the flight of all the lamas. (That was the signal for) the brigands to indulge in atrocities and robberies. Thereupon We ordered that the ring-leader, *Rje-srung*, should be brought to Anterior Tibet where he was deprived of his yellow robe and beheaded. Besides, the *Grva-ishang* and *Drung-ba Khutukhtu* and others were taken to the capital for punishment. Contrast this with the indulgence shown to the lamas during the *Yüan* dynasty when they were worshipped and not only not prevented from obstructing the government, but were even left unpunished (for real crimes). Admitting that Our government protects the Yellow Church (We feel) in perfect agreement with the «Kingly Institutions» which say: «(The tribes) were instructed without changing their customs. Their institutions were regulated, without changing their conveniences» (*Li-chi*, *Wang-chih* III, Couvreur, Vol. I, p. 275).

But those who stir up the masses and infringe the laws shall be punished according to the King's laws in the same way as the ordinary subject of China proper. May I ask how many Grand Lamas since the time when *Hphags-pa* began to propagate Lamaism during all the five hundred years that have elapsed since the *Yüan* and the *Ming* dynasty up to the present have been deprived of their yellow robes and decapitated, or otherwise punished? How can later generations under heaven criticize me for having overpatronized the Yellow Church?

Has that (what I did) even been heard of during the *Yüan* dynasty?

For doing great things, time and opportunity must cooperate and, furthermore, justice and insight. If there be the right time and opportunity, but no justice and insight, you cannot come to a decision. If there be justice and insight for such decision, but not the proper time and opportunity, you cannot succeed, should you wait for success indefinitely. For the subjugation of the *Gurkhas* and the solution of the problem of the *khubilghans* it was exactly the right time and opportunity and therefore there was success even without doing as much as raising one's voice or moving one's features. To eliminate all self-interest in the transmission (of religious dignities) by inheritance we met the expectations of the Mongols of Inner and Outer Mongolia.

It is with satisfaction and devotion that now, at my eightieth year, when I am about to hand over the throne to my successor I look back upon my accomplishments: the pacification of Tibet, the consolidation of the borderlands, and the foundation of permanent peace for the whole empire.

CH'EN-LUNG, 57th year (AD 1792), first winter moon, first decade. By Our Imperial hand.

A world separates this self-justification and philippic against Lamaism from the dedicatory inscription in front of Hall I; there the filial son, the pious

friend of the priests, a Chinese *Açoka Dharmarāja* speaks, here a disappointed monarch perorates, an old man, full of acrimony and acerbity. Nearly half a century has elapsed between the composition of the two documents, almost sixty years of open, and covert warfare, a struggle for power, analogous to that which filled the middle ages in Europe, when emperor and pope fought for supremacy. The Chinese Emperor, in his self-defence, gives us glimpses into that world of ruse and intrigue which, as he supposed, menaced his temporal sway. At last, he thinks, he has won the game: By repulsing the *Gurkhas* he now enjoys his final triumph, feeling himself to be the saviour of the Yellow Church and simultaneously a good father to all his subjects. He makes an effort to prove that he is not, as his Chinese critics have asserted, a bigotted tool in the hands of the lamas. Far from that, he has acted as a sovereign arbiter who, by his Imperial authority, has put an end to all those sinister intrigues and glaring malpractices, pillorying the names of the conspirators by having them chiselled in stone and preserving them in the very Cathedral of Lamaism in Peking, as a warning to future generations. While the first inscription is permeated by religious aspiration and couched in poetical diction, this document is conceived in the sober style of the Imperial Chancery.

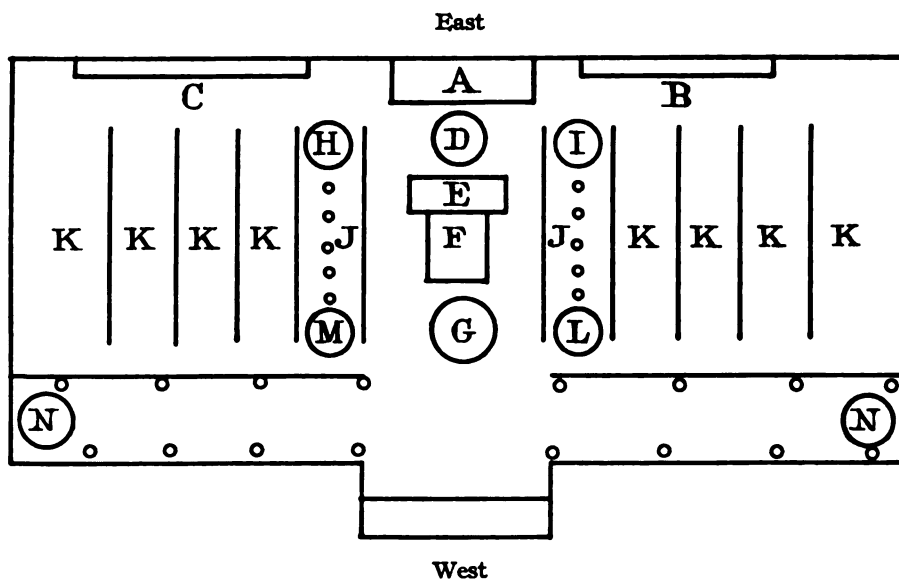
# HALL II. TANTRA HALL

*GUHYA-SAMĀJA. VAJRADHARA. VAJRASATTVA. SAMVARA.*

## EXTERIOR

Turning to the right from the raised path, we face Hall II.\* It is a two-storied building in Chinese style, of the type generally called *ko* 閣. It is the exact match of Hall XVI located at the opposite (i. e. the western) side of this court (Pls. XIV, 4 and XVIII).

The simple ground plan and dimensions of Hall II will appear from the sketch.



Sketch I: Ground Plan and Disposition.  
(Out of Scale)

- |                              |                   |
|------------------------------|-------------------|
| A. Chief statue.             | H. Precentor.     |
| B. Guhya-samāja pentad.      | I. Dean.          |
| C. Paintings of Dharmapālas. | J. Orchestra.     |
| D. Seat of Presiding Priest. | K. Lamas.         |
| E. Offering table.           | L. Beadle.        |
| F. Offering table.           | M. Sacrificer.    |
| G. Incense burner.           | N. Prayer wheels. |

\*) Notes to Hall II, see p. 169 et seq.

Plain black tiles cover the roof of Hall II and all the other side halls of the temple, Imperial yellow being reserved for the buildings on the longitudinal axis. Since only the black-roofed buildings are of purely Lamaist character, this difference may indicate a discrimination against Lamaism. That impression is strengthened by the plainness of the external and internal architecture noticeable in these halls.

To both stories there is a veranda, the upper being supported by eight flimsy columns and protected by the projecting roof.

It is in vain that we search for a tablet indicating the name of this hall like those which, written in gold letters on a blue ground in four languages, decorate the lintels of Halls I, III, V, VII, IX, and XIII. The absence of formal inscriptions in the side halls is probably due to Lamaist usage. There are plain white Chinese »sign-boards» displayed for the guidance of curious visitors. The inscription on Hall II reads: »Place Number Two. *Wên-tu-sun* 溫度孫 Hall».

Many a Chinese visitor is amused at the strange expression »*Wên-tu-sun*», which conveys to him no meaning whatever, its literal sense being »temperature grandson». He does not realize that the characters are intended to render the Mongol word *ündüsün*, »root», which in this case stands for the Tibetan *rgyud* and ultimately for the Sanskrit *tantra*. This word gives us the key to the purpose of this hall: it is used, more than the others, for the performance of the complex Tantric ritual, especially for the solemn banquets for the »Terrible Deities», called T. *bskang-gso* (pron. *Gangso* or *Gangssü*, see Introduction). *Tantra* is one of the four faculties or departments (T. *grva-tshang*) represented in the *Yung-ho-kung*, the others being: medicine (Hall IV), divination (*Kālacakra*, Hall XV), and philosophy (T. *mtshan-nyid*, Hall XVI). These halls, then, taken together, constitute a separate unit in the general plan of the temple. Halls II and XVI supplement each other more especially, *tantra* representing the esoteric and *mtshan-nyid* the exoteric aspect of Lamaism.

Before entering the hall, the visitor's attention is arrested by the prayer wheels or cylinders which are installed on each corner of the veranda. They contain the sacred spell (*dhāraṇī*, T. *gzungs*) of the deity to which they are dedicated. Such formulas are printed in endless repetition on thin paper, in very small characters. The one most frequently used consists of the well known six Sanskrit syllables: *Om maṇi padme hūṃ*. The second word, *maṇi*, accounts for the Tibetan name of these cylinders: *maṇi-hkhor-lo*, »*maṇi*-wheels». (For a full description of prayer wheels and dharanis see Introduction).

The religious merit acquired for one turning of the cylinder is proportionate to the number of times the spell is printed on the scroll contained in the cylinder, each turning being equal to reciting the spell that many times. In most Mongolian temples these cylinders are arranged along the outer walls of the main hall or of the stupas (pagodas) so as to facilitate the turning of them when per-

forming the ritual of circumambulation (*pradakṣhiṇā*, T. *g'yas-par-bskor-ba*, Ch. *yu-jao* 右邊 or, in popular parlance, *chuan-miao* 轉廟).

## INTERIOR, FIRST FLOOR

The hall receives its light exclusively from the doors and windows in its western wall. They are executed in Chinese latticework. Having entered the hall, we sense, for the first time in this temple, the eerie Lamaist atmosphere of witchcraft and »demonolatry». Gilt, half-hidden statues of wrathful deities, some with faces of animals; mysteriously veiled paintings representing uncouth creatures equipped with the tools of the executioner and the sorcerer; uncanny skull cups covered with black cloth containing the unsavoury oblations destined for these divinities; queerly shaped offering-cakes (S. *bali*, T. *gtor-ma*, M. *baling*), sometimes resembling grinning skeleton heads, sometimes showing human faces distorted in agony: all this constitutes a horrifying contrast to the serenity of all the halls located in the central longitudinal axis of the temple precincts (Halls I, III, V, VII, IX, and X. Pl. XIX, for explanation see Introduction.)

The equipment of Lamaist temples, including their furniture, decorations and utensils for the rituals, is briefly described in the Introduction. For the general arrangement of these objects see sketch I, *supra*. When surveying the hall, our attention is drawn to the large incense burner (G in sketch) in front of the two altar tables in the central passage (see Pl. XX).

Three forms of banners decorate this hall. They are either flat like ribbons (*dhvaja*, T. *rgyal-mtshan*), or circular (*patākā*, T. *ba-dan*) or globular (balls stuffed with dry *kuṣa* grass or some substitute). The material from which they are made is silk or brocade. They display the five colours representing the five *Tathāgatas* (*Dhyānibuddhas*), the five elements, five *skandhas*, etc.

In the centre of the eastern wall, to the front, there is an elaborate armchair (marked D in the sketch), above which hangs a fine canopy (*vitāna*, T. *bla-bre*) decorated with a fringe of pearls. This is the throne of the »high priest» (T. *mkhan-po*).

A globular mirror hangs in front of it from the ceiling. The lamas do not seem to regard it as the symbol of the sun, but as a representation of enlightenment (*bodhicitta*) or, more particularly, of the second category of the fivefold wisdom, the »mirror wisdom» (*ādarṣa-jñāna-satya*, T. *me-long-gi lta-bui ye-ces*, Ch. *ta-yüan-ching-chih* 大圓鏡智), the recognition of ultimate truth, as in Christian symbolism (see Pl. XX, 1).

The mirror is also recommended as a device to facilitate meditation. G. Tucci<sup>1</sup> has pointed out its relation to *Vajrasattva*, whose statue is placed directly above it on the second floor of this hall.

Besides this symbolic significance, the mirror has the magic function of discovering the otherwise invisible demons, who, when beholding their faces in it, flee in terror. It is for the same purpose that mirrors are attached to the wall above the entrance of Chinese houses. Sometimes in such instances, the *pa-kua* 八卦 and, less frequently, the characters *i-shan* — 善, the One Good (sc. Spirit dwells within this house) are added.

On the offering table E there stands a big copper lamp (T. *mar-me*) having the shape of a cup or goblet with a foot and stem. The Chinese call this type of lamp *hai-têng* 海燈, «ocean lamp», referring to its being capable of holding a large quantity of oil (see Introduction). The Tibetan inscription engraved on the lamp reads:

Mar-me phul-ba bsod-nams-kyi(s)  
 ges-rab zab-ma myur thob-nas  
 mar gyur sems-can thams-cad kyi  
 mun sel mgron shes hbar-bar sog.

May (I) by the merit of dedicating this lamp,  
 After having quickly received deep wisdom (*prajñā*),  
 Burn like a lamp which dispels  
 Darkness from all beings which have become my mothers.

According to a view shared by all Buddhists, all living beings in the endless circle of transmigration have recurrently entered the relation of parents and children to each other. To dedicate one's own religious merits to one's fellow-creatures is therefore tantamount to fulfilling a duty of filial piety (cf. *Ch'ien-lung's* Inscription in Court III and the inscriptions on some of the gateways). In obedience to the first commandment of Buddhism forbidding the destruction of any life whatsoever, the lamp is provided with a dome-shaped sieve serving as a lid or cover which prevents insects from flying into the burning flame.

The lanterns suspended from the plain ceiling are made of horn, a craft now almost forgotten in Peking. They are lit during night service, spreading a dim light which adds to the weirdness of the environment.

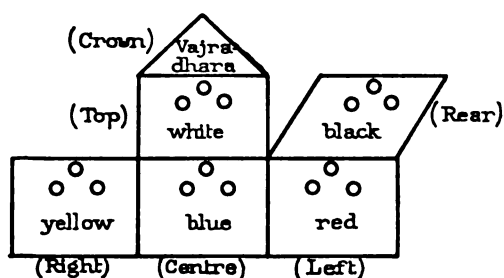




The images are arranged in two rows. One is in the rear along the east wall (Row A, Sketch 2); the other is in front of the first, parallel to the wall, among the pillars (Row B, Sketch 3).

For the orientation of the visitor, sketches have been drawn showing the general arrangement of the images. In these sketches squares and rectangles refer to pictures, triangles to statues and other objects. Triangles set in squares or rectangles indicate that these objects are in shrines.

In the following descriptions of the images, diagrams have been used wherever feasible in order to avoid lengthy enumerations. For instance, instead of saying that the faces of a given deity are blue in the centre, red at the left, yellow at the right, white on top, black on the back, we arrange them in a diagram in this manner:



The above diagram reads: the god has five faces, three in front (the blue one being the principal face), crowned by a white face which again is surmounted by the figure of *Vajradhara*, and one black face behind. The three circles indicate three eyes.

Instead of enumerating the hands of the many-armed deities with their attributes, a diagram is given showing the hands divided according to right and left and numbered from top to bottom with the attributes they hold. This numbering does not agree with the *sadhanas* which generally commence with the »original» (*mūla*, T. *ṛisa-ba*) arms, i. e. those belonging to the two-armed basic manifestation of the deity.<sup>2</sup>

The word »gesture» refers to the position of the hands (*mudrā*); the word »posture» to that of the feet (*āsana*).

In the analyses of paintings it is generally the central deity which has been marked with the number 1, then the reader is referred to the left upper corner, from there to the next figure at his right, etc. Deviations from this were sometimes inevitable.

It has been thought helpful to point out the interrelation existing among the chief deities represented on a painting by connecting their figures through arrows.

A sketch will acquaint the reader at a glance with the general plan according to which the deities are installed in this Tantra Hall

Second floor	<i>Vajrasattva-</i> from which emanates	<i>Vajradhara</i>	Triad	
North				South
First floor	<i>Tsong-kha-pa</i> Triad. Tsong-kha-pa, the »Second Conqueror», who appeared in Tibet, the Second Vajrāsana or Seat of Enlightenment		<i>Guhya-samāja</i> Pentad, personifying the Tantras containing the Main Tenets of Lamaism	

All the other images in this hall are either duplications of these basic statues or ex-voto gifts of secondary importance.

#### IMAGES: ROW A

This row comprises all the images hung on or attached to the east wall.

We begin our study of the images in this hall with the statue in the centre, from where we turn to the right (S), and, having finished the southern section, continue with the northern section of the eastern wall at No. 9.

##### A 1. Statue: *Tsong-kha-pa*

A. The dominant image in this hall is that which occupies the centre of the east wall, facing the entrance. It represents *Tsong-kha-pa*, the famous founder of Yellow Lamaism. It may be surprising to find the most prominent place in this society of divinities held by someone we would conceive of as a human being, but according to Lamaist views *Tsong-kha-pa* is a god, or even more than a god, a lama, from whom all the other divinities emanate. He is their chief (T. *gtso-bo*), and in particular the leader (*guru*, T. *bla-ma*) of the deities assembled in this hall, who with him constitute a sort of conclave called in T. *tshogs-shing*, which will be described in greater detail in Hall VII. In surveying the images displayed in this hall, it will be noticed that the *tshogs-shing* is incomplete.

The statue is of lacquered gilt bronze, about life size, placed in a richly decorated wooden shrine. This shrine is probably intended to suggest an Indian *kūṭā-gāra* (T. *khang-brtsegs*). Its design imitates a Chinese building of the type called *lou* 樓 (cf. Pl. XX, 1).

The statue is covered with an ex-voto cassock (T. *na-bzah*), which leaves only the head exposed. The lozenges on the cassock represent conventionalized *vajras*

(«thunderbolts») providing a magical protection for the statue. Over his hands a ceremonial scarf is spread (T. *kha-btags*, pron. in Mongolian *khatak*). The gesture made by the hands is that of preaching.

Here *Tsong-kha-pa* wears the tall pointed cap known as *Tsong-kha-pa's* hat (T. *snye-ring*, called in Chinese *t'ao-mao* 桃帽 «peach-cap» on account of its resemblance to a peach, the Chinese symbol of longevity). His hands make the «preaching» gesture (*dharma-cakra-mudrā*); he holds the stems of two lotuses in them, the flowers being on a level with his shoulders. The flower at his right supports the sword of wisdom (*prajñā-khaḍga*) which dispels ignorance, that on his left a book, the *Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra* (Book of Transcendental Wisdom). These are also the attributes of *Mañjuçrī*, the Bodhisattva of Wisdom, of whom *Tsong-kha-pa* is considered to be an incarnation (cf. description of the huge statue of *Tsong-kha-pa* in Hall VII). The posture, i. e. the manner in which he is sitting, is that of the Buddha (see Hall III).

*Tsong-kha-pa* is represented as a sleek-faced young man like his spiritual father, *Mañjuçrī*, «Who has Become Youth (*Kumāra-bhūta*)». He wears his usual priestly attire (for other manifestations see Hall VII). It is known that this representation has become the archetype of the idealized lama images of the Yellow Church, but it is probably older than *Tsong-kha-pa*. Such images show little or no individuality. As a result, uninscribed representations of lamas cannot be identified unless they appear in fixed groupings, or have some distinguishing attribute. Portrait-like images are exceptions (see Hall II A 5 a and b). For *Tsong-kha-pa* Triad see Hall II B 20. At an exhibition of objects, professedly coming from the storehouses of the *Yung-ho-kung* (1921?), a painting was shown representing the Emperor *Ch'ien-lung* as *Tsong-kha-pa* with his *tshogs-shing* (*supra*). The picture is said subsequently to have disappeared.

Within and behind this shrine we notice paintings representing the mandalas (conclave of deities) of the triad: *Guhya-sāmaṃjā*, *Samvara*, and *Yamāntaka*, three divinities especially worshipped by *Tsong-kha-pa* during his lifetime (see *Guhya-samāṃjā* pentad, Hall II A 4). We also find paintings of the Eighteen Arhats, acolytes of *Çākyaṃuni* (Hall III), and a picture of *Yama*. The former reminds us that *Tsong-kha-pa* is spoken of as «another *Çākyaṃuni*, the latter is the «Special Protector of the Faith» of the great reformer.

Seven plain, small brass bowls are placed in a row directly in front of this shrine. They represent seven of the eight customary oblations to the gods; water for the face, water for the feet (those two bowls are sometimes doubled), flowers, incense, a lamp, scented water, and, to the extreme right, food (see Introduction, Cult). Food is represented here by a brass flask on a cylindrical basis, the whole imitating a certain form of oblation cake made of dough. The musical instruments (brass tubes, trumpets, conchshells, drums, etc.) distributed throughout this hall represent the last of the eight offerings. It is not uncommon that all the bowls are

merely filled with water or rice as substitutes for the real objects. The flowers are usually artificial.

The upper, smaller compartment of this shrine is occupied by a number of bronze statues, approximately 25 cm high, hardly distinguishable from below. They represent a galaxy of personages prominent in the history of Buddhism.

From north to south we find:

- a) *Vasubandhu* (discernible here by his heavy black beard; different: Hall II B 7),
- b) *Çākyamuni*,
- c) *Nāgārjuna* (Hall II B 7 and Hall X, statue),
- d) *Āryadeva* (Hall II B 7),
- e) *Tsong-kha-pa*.

Facing north we discover:

- f) the goddess *Ushnīsha-vijayā* (Hall X),
- g) *Simhabhadra*,<sup>3</sup>
- h) (between the pillars): Six-handed *Mahākāla*.

Facing South:

- i) Layman with loose hair, said to be one of the Eighty-four Magicians (*Sisiri-pa*? See the preincarnations of *Lalita-vajra*, Hall XV C 6),
- j) (Between the pillars): *Manjuçrī*, of whom *Tsong-kha-pa*, as said before, is a manifestation.

Of the »Six Ornaments of *Jambudvīpa*» (described in Hall II B 7), whom we would expect here, only three are represented. Behind the three large central shrines, partly covered by them, we find the pictures of:

- 1. A form of *Mahākāla* (see Hall VI),
- 2. *Çrīdevī* (see Hall VI),
- 3. *Vajrapāṇi* (see Hall XV),
- 4. *Vaiçravaṇa* (see Halls I, II (Appendix), VI and VII),
- 5. *Kuan Ti* (see Hall XIII).

#### A 2. Statue: *Çes-rab-seng-ge*

A smaller and less elaborate shrine at *Tsong-kha-pa*'s left (N) houses the statue of T. *Çes-rab-seng-ge* (*Prajñāsimha*), his seventeenth disciple. On his ex-voto cassock we see the same lozenge-pattern as on that of *Tsong-kha-pa*. The seven brass bowls, substitutes for offerings, are found here too. The designs on the front of the red-lacquered wooden stand represent the »precious insignia» (see Introduction and Hall III, altar). The same set of emblems, combined with a gracefully delineated scroll of lotus-flowers, appears on the door of the shrine, the upper part of which is adorned with the most prominent of all Buddhist symbols, the lotus (see Pl. XX, 1).

*Çes-rab-seng-ge* bears the epithet: the Powerful One of the *Tantra* Department (T. *Rgyud-sdei mngah-bdag*). This is obviously the reason for placing his statue in this hall, the »Hall of the Tantras«. *Çes-rab-seng-ge* was considered a great yogin and was very active in spreading the *Mantrayāna* doctrine in Tibet. Legend relates that he received from his master all the spells (*mantra*, T. *bsngags*) in a skull bowl. He tried to swallow them, but he could do it only in two gulps. Thereupon *Tsong-kha-pa* said: »My Tantras are divided into an upper and a lower group (*rgyud-stod rgyud-smad*)».

The images of *Çes-rab-seng-ge* show an aged man without attributes, making the gesture of teaching. In the »Album of the Three Hundred Divinities« (Bibliotheca Buddhica V, No. 44) he is the central figure in a group arranged thus (see also G. Schulemann, *Geschichte der Dalailamas*):

<i>Rje Dge-hdun-grub</i> ( <i>Sanghasiddha</i> ), Successor of <i>Tsong-kha-pa</i> (r. h. lotus stem, l. h. palm upwards in lap). Schulemann, p. 91.	<i>Çes-rab-seng-ge</i> (teaching gesture)	<i>Rgyal-ba Blo-bzang-don-grub</i> ( <i>Sumati-siddhārtha</i> ); fuller title: <i>Rgyal-ba Dben-sa-ba</i> , etc. (leaf of book in both hands). Schulemann, p. 108.
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### A 3. *Dge-hdun-hdus-pahi-hkhor-lo*

A small shrine of unpainted wood in the shape of a Chinese kiosk contains an object shaped like a tablet and made of sandalwood, called the *Dge-hdun-hdus-pai hkhor-lo*, the »Wheel of Uniting the Congregation«. It is worshipped by the lamas with a view to preserving or re-establishing peace and harmony among them. This wheel is a gift from the last *Pañ-chen Rin-po-che* of *Bkra-çis-lhun-po* (*Tashilunpo*), *Dge-legs-rnam-rgyal*. It is doubtful whether this information supplied by the lamas is correct or complete. It seems likely that this object is connected with the cult of *Samvara* (see Hall II, Second Floor).

Behind this shrine is the place where the »vessel of treasures« (T. *gter-bum*) of *Vaiçravaṇa*, the Chief God of Wealth, is usually kept. It is used in the ceremony called: »Invitation to Prosperity« (T. *g'yang-hgug*, Ch. *chao-ts'ai* 招財), described in the appendix to this hall (see Hall II A, between 5 and 6).

### A 4. Statues: *Guhya-samāja* Pentad

South of this kiosk there is a shrine resembling a long two-storied Chinese building of the *ko* 閣 type. Like shrine A 1 it is probably intended to represent a *kūṭāgūra*. It stands on a large chest of drawers the lacquering of which is similar to that of *Tsong-kha-pa*'s shrine. The shrine which is elaborately decorated with the Chinese dragon design contains gilt bronze statues of an average height of 60 cm., representing a pentad of tutelary deities known as Protectors

of the *Dharma* or Faith (*Dharmapālas*, see Hall VI). The lower part of their bodies is covered with silk curtains (T. *shal-khabs*), printed with so-called magic spells (*dhāraṇīs*). This covering is said to have been instituted by *Tsong-kha-pa* himself. During service these curtains should be removed (see Pl. XX, 2).

In the pentad represented *Guhya-samāja* is the chief deity. He and his retinue (*parivāra*), belonging to the *pitṛtantra* (T. *pha-rgyud*), constitute an analogy to the *Samvara* pentad (*Panca-samvara-deva*), representative of the *māṛtantra* (*ma-rgyud*). According to Tantric sources the *Guhya-samāja-tantra* was preached by the Buddha in Tushita Heaven the morning after his great illumination.<sup>4</sup>

Among the five images, the three occupying the centre, i. e. *Guhya-samāja* and his immediate neighbours, *Samvara* and *Yamāntaka*, represent a group of very special importance in the Yellow Church. The combined consecrations (*vaçitā*, T. *dbang*) of these three divinities so frequently referred to in history and legend testify to this.

The following table shows the relations of the gods in this pentad.

a	b	c	d	e
Mahākāla	Samvara	Guhya-samāja	Yamāntaka	Yama
Universal or General (T. <i>thun-mong</i> ) Protector, Chief of the <i>Dharmapālas</i> , Special Patron of the Mongols.	T. <i>Gsang-bde-hjigs-gsum</i> , each of which protects one of the three Tantric cycles which together with that of Vajrapāṇi and Kālacakra, constitute the <i>Anuttarayoga-tantra</i> , Tsong-kha-pa's basic doctrine ( <i>supra</i> , and statues, Hall II, Second Floor).			Special (T. <i>thun-mong-ma-yin-pa</i> ) Protector of the Yellow Church and, in legend, the «famulus» of <i>Tsong-kha-pa</i> .

#### A 4 a. Statue: *Mahākāla*

The first in this group is *Mahākāla*, the «Universal (T. *thun-mong*) Protector». The Tibetans generally refer to him as *Mgon-po*, a translation of his Sanskrit epithet, *Nātha*, meaning Lord or Protector. Under this name (M. *Gombu*, *Gombo*) he is familiar to most Lamaists. It is used in order to avoid his real name, which is tabu. The Mongolians, however, apply to him his Sanskrit appellation also, pronouncing it (in *Chakhar*, for instance) *Makkhala*.

Here we have one of his six-handed manifestations with the attributes or insignia distributed thus:

Hands		
	Right	Left
1	Corner of elephant's skin and rosary of human skulls	trident
2	Chopper (in front of breast)	skull bowl
3	Skull drum	noose

His hair, ablaze like fire, is adorned with a thunderbolt and crown of skulls. A serpent wriggles through it. A garland of heads (*munḍa-mālā*) bedecks his

body; he is trampling on an elephant-headed deity called *Gaṇapati*, *Gaṇeṣa* or *Vināyaka*. For more details see Hall VI.

#### A 4 b. Statue: *Samvara*

The Yi-dam *Samvara* or *Çambara* (T. *Bde-mchog*) is a deity without mythological background. He personifies »Highest Bliss» (*mahāsukha*, T. *bde-mchog*) constituting the »fourth body» of the Tathāgata. He symbolizes complete identity with the absolute. In the Tantric triad he occupies the third place impersonating the *Anuttara-yoga-tantra* (see Hall II A 4, *supra*). A certain form of this deity was conjured by the Grand Almoner of North China, *Rol-pai-rdo-rje* (see Hall II A 5 and Hall XV C 6).

*Samvara* is represented in the *yuga-naddha* manifestation (*yab-yum*, symbolizing *mahāsukha*, see Introduction) with his *çakti Vajra-vārāhī*. He has four faces and twelve arms, and wears a crown or diadem of skulls. Above it to the left of his chignon appears the moon, on its right is the wish-granting jewel (also explained as the sun), with the crossed thunderbolt between them. A garland of decapitated heads dangles from his body. His most remarkable attribute is the »magic sceptre» (*khaṭvāṅga*) which leans against his right shoulder (see Hall II A 6 a. For details regarding him see Hall II, Second floor).

#### A 4 c. Statue: *Guhya-samāja*

*Guhya-samāja* (T. *Gsang- (ba-) hdus- (pa)*, pronounced *sang-dui*, *sang-düi*), the central figure of the group, is the central deity (T. *gtso-bo*) in this pentad. His name means Mystic Union (*Unio Mystica*), union in the sense of oneness and sameness of the three mysteries (*triguhya*, T. *gsang-ba-gsum*) comprising body, speech, and mind, of this Primordial or Adibuddha (S. *ādibuddha*) with those of all his emanations, primarily with the *çakti* or *yum* he embraces, but also with all the Bodhisattvas and ultimately with all sentient beings. This mystic union is symbolized by the conjugal embrace and is concurrently alluded to by his name, *guhya*, which stands also for the secret parts. In more scholastic terminology, he impersonates the five *skandhas*, or aggregates, which constitute personality. This idea blends in »Chinese Lamaism» (if we may give this name to those half-hearted, futile attempts made under the Manchu dynasty to reconcile Lamaist and Chinese tenets) with the theory of the five elements constituting the microcosm as well as the macrocosm: fire = heart or mind; earth = bones and muscles; metal = liver; wood = lungs; water = blood, etc.

Returning to the domain of purely Indian ideology, *Guhya-samāja* represents the projection of the noumenal impersonated by *Vajradhara*, his spiritual father (see Hall II A 6 b, and Hall II B. 24—26), into the phenomenal, its concretisation or, in terms of light symbolism, the fivefold light, *pañcaraçmi*, which is at

the base of cosmic evolution. It is through this medium that the threefold mystery can be realized, which is expounded in *I-hsing's* Commentary on the *Mahā-vairocana-sūtra* with the following words:<sup>4</sup>

»All the activities of the body, speech, and mind belong to the domain of primordial reality (*bhūtakoti*, represented by the *Ādibuddha*), body being identical with speech, speech with mind, as the taste of salt is the same anywhere in the ocean».

On the other hand, since all living beings are potential Buddhas, sharing with them their absolute nature (*buddhatva*), this sameness and oneness of the three mysteries applies to them also. To realize this identity is salvation.

This is the gist of the doctrines embodied in such esoteric writings as the *Mahā-vairocana-sūtra*, the *Guhya-samāja-tantra*, and many others. The Yi-dam *Guhya-samāja* appears to be a personification of the tantra bearing his name, as the Goddess *Mahā-prajñā-paramitā* (see Hall X) symbolizes the sutra or class of sutras bearing that designation. *Guhya-samāja* is not only the goal of, but also the road (*upāya*) to deliverance, and since magic spells belong to the chief vehicles in the ritualistic scheme of salvation as propounded by esoterism, *Guhya-samāja* the *Ādibuddha* is the Lord of the Mantras and a personification of the *Mantrayāna*.



Fig. 6. Yamāntaka yuganaddha

#### A 4 d. Statue: *Yamāntaka*

The image directly on the left (S) of *Guhya-samāja* is the Yi-dam (»Guardian») *Yamāntaka*, a kind of super-Yama. He is generally spoken of as *Çrī-vajra-bhairava*, (T. *Dpal-rdo-rje-hjigs-byed*, pronounced *pal-dorji-jigjid*).

*Yamāntaka*, the terrible manifestation of *Manjuçrī*, incarnate in *Tsong-kha-pa*, is very closely related to the Yellow Sect, and this alone would suffice to account for his presence here. But he is also the representative or personification of one of the three systems constituting the *Anuttara-yoga-tantra*; namely, the





Fig. 7. Dharmarāja bāhya-sādhana

*Bhairava-tantra*, a system propagated by *Mkhas-grub-rje*, *Tsong-kha-pa*'s most learned disciple.

Here *Yamāntaka* is represented in his usual form with nine heads, red hair like *Yama*, a crown of skulls, thirty-four arms and sixteen legs, and a garland of heads.

The numerous beings on whom he is trampling represent an ancient classification: gods, especially the Brahmanical gods as enemies of Buddhism, men, quadrupeds, and birds.

*Yamāntaka* is here represented in the *yuganaddha* pose with his *çakti* («energy», T. *yum*, literally mother) in relation to whom he is called father (T. *yab*). His iconographical type will be discussed in Hall VI.

#### A 4 e. Statue: *Yama* and *Yamī*

This particular manifestation is called *Dharmarāja bāhya-sādhana*, King of the Law, Accomplisher or Realizer of External Deeds (Pl. XXII, 2).

*Yama*, the oldest god in this conclave, is the God of Hell, common to Hinduism and Buddhism. Within this pantheon he is, as has already been said, the «Special» (T. *thun-mong-ma-yin-pa*) Protector of the Faith (*Dharmapāla*), and except for his bull's head, which, as we shall see, is a later metamorphosis, he may be regarded as a characteristic specimen of that class of deities, though he is not their prototype.

The typology and mythology of this unusually interesting member of the pantheon will be treated in the description of Hall VI.

#### Upper Section

In the upper compartment of this shrine we find nine small statues, each occupying a small compartment the background of which is decorated with a painting.

- a. *Sitāta-patrāparājitā*, the Goddess of the White Umbrella (see Hall II A 7), the female counterpart of (h) below,
- b. *Amitāyus*,
- c. *Green Tārā* } spouses of h,
- d. *White Tārā* }
- e. *Çākyamuni* (painting behind him: *Tsong-kha-pa*, as the «Second *Çākyamuni*»),



Fig. 8. The White Tārā



Fig. 9. The Green Tārā

- f. *Manjuṣrī*,
- g. so-called Sandal-wood Buddha (T. *Jo-bo*, M. *Jō-burkhan*),
- h. Thousand-armed *Avalokiteṣvara* (s. a, c, d; painting behind him: *Ushnīsha-vijayā*),
- i. *Maitreya*.

These figures compose, perhaps, a definite «conclave of deities», (probably one of the mandalas of *Çākyamuni*?).

#### A 5. Paintings: *Lalita-vajra*

A large and a small picture of *Rol-pai-rdo-rje*, S. *Lalita-vajra*, one of the *Lcang-skyā* (pronounced *Chang-cha*) *Khutukhtus* or Grand Lamas of Northern China. He was the Grand Almoner of the Emperor *Ch'ien-lung* (1736—1795). *Rol-pai-rdo-rje* subdued the *Yi-dam Samvara* (Hall II A b and Second Floor) who appeared to him at his summer residence, the *Chên-hai-ssū* 鎮海寺, in the *Wu-t'ai-shan* 五台山 mountains.

There is a legend current among the lamas that *Rol-pai-rdo-rje* and all of his successors limped because they had the yum of *Samvara* riding on their hip. This is, of course, believed by the credulous crowd. The yum riding on the hip of a deity is the older form of *yab-yum* representation (cf. *Vajrasattva*, Hall II, Second Floor). More space will be devoted to this important personality in Hall XV C 6.

Near this shrine an arrow is seen protruding from a square wooden stand (similar to that mentioned in Hall II A 3). The stand is about one foot high, lacquered red and shaped like an inverted Chinese peck-measure (*tou*, used as a stand also for other objects). This missile is used in the service of *Vaiṣṇava* and other deities (see *g'yang-hgug*, Hall II, Appendix, for details).

#### A 6 a. Magic Sceptre

A high box contains a so-called »magic sceptre» (*khaṭvāṅga* »foot of a chair, bed or couch») supposed to be about two hundred years old; which would be about the age of the temple, but it has the appearance of being brand new. It is a staff of white sandal-wood, about 2 m. high, crowned with three heads, that of a child (red, below), of a man (blue), and a white skull, and ending in a blue *vajra*. The three heads symbolize the three ages, past, present, and future. They emerge from a vessel for holy water, symbol of immortality, carved in wood. The wand is draped with ceremonial scarfs (T. *kha-btags*), and adorned with skull drums, bells, etc. Its lower part is left unpainted.

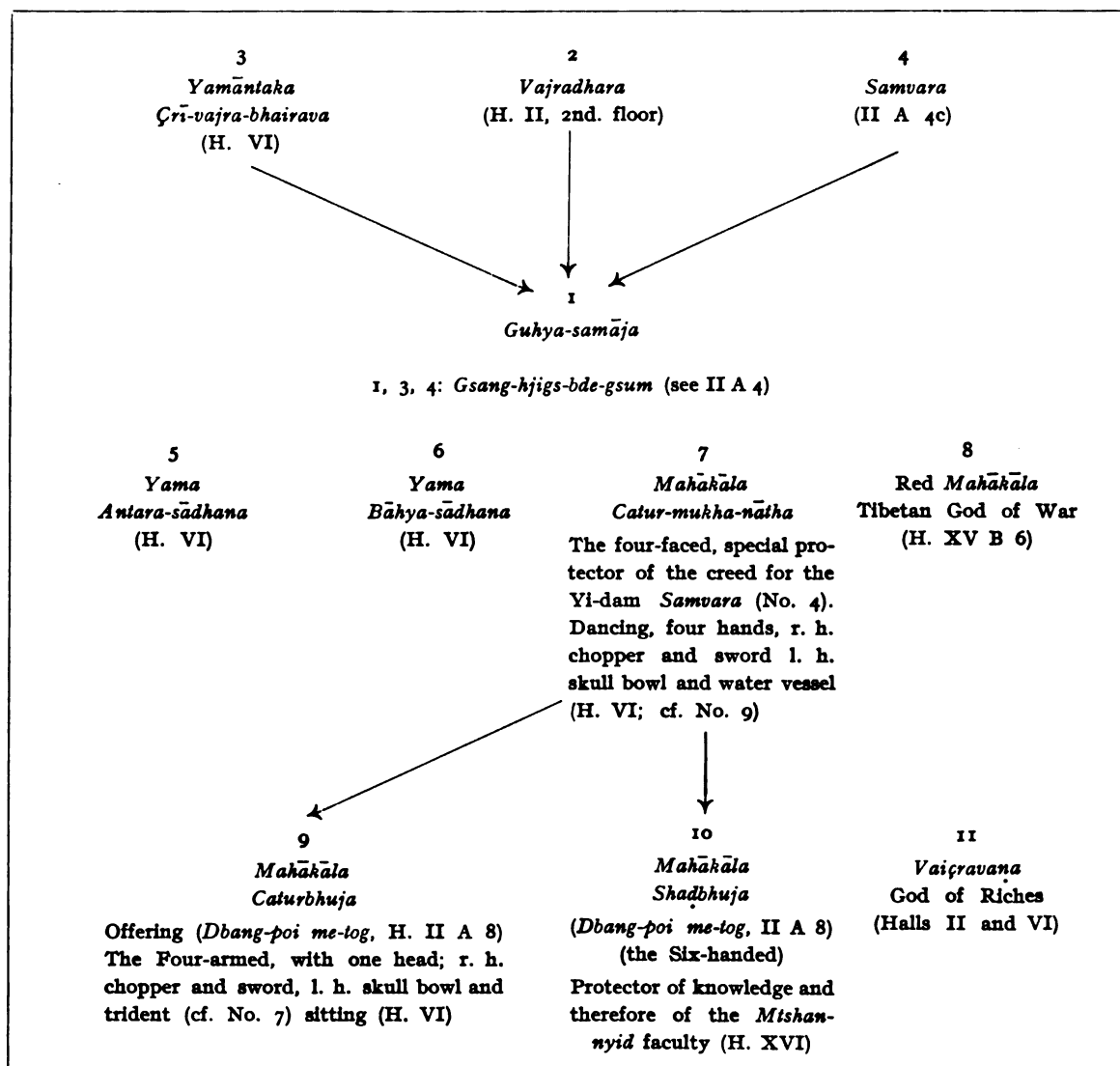
Compare this description with that given by the *Sādhana-mālā* in the sadhana of the Two-armed *Heruka* (No. 241, pp. 468—469): *calad-ghaṇṭikā-patākā-nara-ṣiro-viṣva-vajrālankṛta-panca-sūcika-vajra-ṣikharam adha eka-sūcika-vajrākāram yajnopavitavat* (»adorned with streamers (equipped) with dangling bells, with human heads and a crossed thunderbolt, ending above in a five-pronged thunderbolt, and being shaped below like a one-pronged thunderbolt (serving) as a sacred thread»).

The *khaṭvāṅga* or magic sceptre is said to be much dreaded by the demons. During services held for the wrathful deities, particularly during the performance of the *Samvara* ritual, the box containing it remains open because the god supposed to be present in it is believed to destroy evil and to frighten the demons who might try to disturb the ceremony. As an emblem of »Mother-tantra» (*māṭṛtantra*, T. *ma-rgyud*), it is an attribute of various divinities.

#### A 6 b. Painting: *Guhya-samāja*

Above the box with the »magic wand» we have a large, beautiful painting said to have come from Tibet and to be about 200 years old. It represents *Guhya-samāja* (s. II A 4 c) with his circle of companions or retainers (*parivāra*).

This circle comprises the following ensemble of divinities:



Diagrams Showing Iconographic Details of *Guhya-samāja yuganaddha*  
Arrangement of heads and hands (with attributes)




### I. Yab (dark blue)

Faces:		
red (white)	dark blue	white (red)

Posture: vajra

	Right	Hands	Left
1	wheel (jewel bouquet, ratna-manjari)	raised	jewel bouquet (wheel)
2	vajra	embracing yum	bell
3	lotus	lowered	sword

## II. Yum *Adhiprajñā*, Primordial Wisdom (light blue)

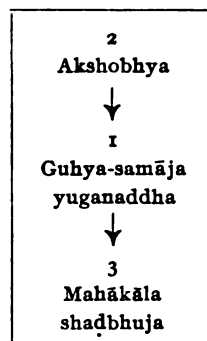
Faces:		
 red	 light blue	 white

Posture: encircling yab

	Right	Hands	Left
1	?	embracing yab	?
2	jewel bouquet	horizontal	jewel bouquet
3	lotus	lowered	lotus

Both have the type and ornaments of Bodhisattvas.

A painting from the Sven Hedin collection may illustrate the iconographical details (Pl. XXI).



The colours of the faces are as indicated in parentheses in the preceding diagrams.

In addition to the vajra and bell of *Vajradhara*, his spiritual progenitor, the yab holds the »sword of wisdom» (*prajñā-khadga*), one of the two insignia of *Manjuçrī*, of whom he is the tantric manifestation (Hall II A 4 e). The other attribute of *Manjuçrī*, the text of the *Prajñā-pāramitā*, the »Mother of all Buddhas», is here personified as his yum, *Ādhiprajñā*, Primordial Wisdom, *Urweisheit* (la somma sapienza); »being consubstantial with him», she carries the same attributes.

The type of *Guhya-samāja* appears to have been developed from that of *Vajradhara* (Hall II B 24—26) and ultimately from that of *Vajrapāṇi* (Hall XV). They have the same chief attributes, the vajra and the bell, which they hold crossed on the breast in the gesture called *vajra-hūṃ-kara*, or *-kāra*, symbolizing steadfastness, unshakableness, utmost exertion, energy.

As a Yi-dam or Personal Guardian, *Guhya-samāja* belongs to the group of mild manifestations, thus differing from those appearing in a terrible shape as, for instance, *Yamāntaka*. His features are human and undistorted, he wears no chain of skulls or heads, or any other awe-inspiring objects. His blue colour, otherwise characteristic of, but not limited to, the wrathful types, classes him with *Vajradhara*, *Akshobhya*, and certain forms of *Manjuçrī*. It may stand here for sky, illimitable space (*ākāśa*). A short analysis of their morphology will prove their interrelation.

If it is permitted to outline the iconographical evolution of *Guhya-samāja* and related types by merely reviewing current images, without consulting the literary sources, we may conceive the whole group as a crossing and amalgamation of the various offshoots of the Thunderbolt-bearers, *Vajrapāṇi-Vajradhara-Akshobhya*, etc.

The iconographical ancestor of this wide-spread clan, dynamic *Vajrapāṇi*, manifested as a blue-coloured Rakshasa (*rākshasa*) hurling a thunderbolt (Hall XV) has his static analogon among the Buddhas in blue *Akshobhya*, one of the Five Tathagatas. The simplest manifestation of this Buddha (that which is called *Mi-hkhrugs-pa* in Tibetan, instead of *Mi-bskyod-pa*, both meaning »unagitated» = *Akshobhya*), has, it is true, no attributes whatever: Apart from his colour he is, as it were, merely the combination of two aspects of *Çākyamuni*, the one under the tree of enlightenment, depicted in the act of touching the earth with his right hand, calling her to bear witness (Hall III), and the other indicating meditation, resting both hands in his lap, with palms turned upward. *Akshobhya*'s right hand touches the ground, his left expresses meditation, and so does his posture. His colour should be blue, not gold, which is reserved to *Çākyamuni*. For pictorial representations see Clark, B 141 and D 87.

The meaning of the word *Akshobhya* suggested the *vajra* or thunderbolt, the symbol of immobility, as a »speaking attribute» for him. The most convenient place for it was, of course, the palm of the left hand. The feet, needless to say, are in the meditation posture. This manifestation is also called *Mi-bskyod-pa* in Tibetan (Clark, C R 1 c).

As we have the Buddha *Amitābha*, without ornaments, seconded by a fully decorated Bodhisattva (*Amitāyus*, Hall III), so *Akshobhya* too occurs both with and without the ornaments; in other words, he is represented both as a Buddha and a Bodhisattva. As a Bodhisattva he is recognizable by the ornaments and posture proper to this class of deities, and by the characteristic attribute, the vajra, which is never missing in this type. There are no other essential discrepancies between the Buddha and the Bodhisattva aspects of *Akshobhya*.

Reserving the *yuganaddha* forms for a later consideration, we look for the next step in the iconographical complication of this type, namely the increase of attri-



Fig. 10. *Guhya-samāja*

butes. By adding the bell to the vajra, thus expressing that set of phenomenal polarities which is tabulated in the Introduction we arrive at the category of deities of which *Vajradhara* is the typological exponent. Most of the images of this type have the hands crossed on the breast, the right holding the vajra, the left, the bell, a gesture called *vajra-hūm-kāra*. The symbol expressed by it has even been deified under this appellation. It is noticeable in *Guhya-samāja* (Hall II A 4), *Vajradhara* (Hall II B 24—26), *Samvara* (Hall II, Second Floor), *Kālacakra* (Hall XV), and others.

This gesture with its complex symbolism characterizes a whole series of divinities, appearing under a perplexing variety of names, but all somehow related to each other though belonging to various classes, manifestations, and types. Those among them whose colour is blue must have some closer mutual affinity. For all of them *Vajrapāṇi-Vajradhara* seems to be the typological basis. They occur one-headed and two-handed, or three-, or four-headed with a proportionate or disproportionate increase in the number of their upper limbs. We must limit ourselves to reviewing here only the most representative of the divinities in question.

Reserving the various forms of *Vajrapāṇi* (Hall XV), *Vajradhara* (Hall II 24—26), *Vajrasattva* (Hall II, Second Floor), and the two-armed forms of *Samvara* (Hall II, Second Floor) for a later discussion, the most uncomplicated type offering itself in this connection is *Vajra-hūm-kāra* in his demoniac form, as depicted in Clark B 359 (painting). His names are given there as:

T. *Rdo-rje-hum-mḍsad*, M. *Vcir* (pronounced Ocir) *yeke hum-kara*, Ma. *Horonggo Hung-jilangga-wacir*, Ch. *Hung-wei-shêng* — *chin-kang* 吽威聲金剛. His head is that of Rakshasa, he has the third eye and wears the skull crown, the rest of his ornaments being those of a Bodhisattva, and an apron made of a tiger's skin. His hands make the *vajra-hūm-kāra* gesture, and his legs are in the *pratyāṭṭha* posture, i. e. standing, with the right knee bent.

An angry, though Bodhisattva-like type, all the ornaments being those of a Bodhisattva, is pictured under Clark, B 56. He is standing on two figures (*nara-vāhana*). His companion, probably his *çakti*, appears behind him at his left side — an older stage of the *yuganaddha* grouping.

A peculiar *yuganaddha* form of this deity is pictured under Clark, C. R 11 c, but the wood-cut is not clear enough in all details. *Vajra-hūm-kara* has there three heads with three eyes each, the faces being of wrathful expression. It is impossible to make out whether he wears a skull crown or a plain diadem, but the ornaments are those of a Bodhisattva.

## Yab

	Right	Hands	Left
1	crossed at wrists	and raised above three	heads
2	arrow	raised	bow
3	empty? thunderbolt?	crossed behind back of çakti	empty? thunder- bolt?

*Ālīḍha* posture, standing on two human bodies.

## Yum

	Right	Hands	Left
1	encircling	neck	of yab
2	arrow	lowered	bow

Right leg encircling yab, 1. leg standing on ground.

Of the remaining two-armed forms in the group under discussion, we may mention *Akshobhya yuganaddha*, i. e. with his *çakti*, whom we describe according to a wood-cut (Clark, C, R 10 c) comparing him with A, 2 M<sub>3</sub> (statue) and D 57 (drawing). *Akshobhya*'s Tibetan name is *Mi-bskyod-pa* in Clark, C, R 10 c and D 57, but he is called *Guhya-manjuçrī*, Ch. *Mi-chi-wên-shu-chin-kang-fo* 密跡文殊金剛佛 in A, 2 M 3. The last name plainly points to a close affinity existing between the whole category discussed here and certain scions of the *Manjuçrī* clan.

The yab and consequently the yum show the Bodhisattva type. The hands of the yab make the *vajra-hūm-kāra* gesture. The yum in R 10 c and A, 2 M 3 holds the thunderbolt (r.) and the skull bowl (l.); in D 57 she encircles the neck of the yab, her attributes, if any, being invisible. This attitude makes the group identical with *Vajradhara yuganaddha*. Possibly there is a difference in colour between the two, or a mistake was made by the draftsman, a question which only a study of the *sadhanas* can decide.

This form leads us directly to a group of many-headed, many-armed divinities, of which *Guhya-samāja* is the best known exponent. Most of them have the word *guhya*, T. *gsang-ba*, prefixed to their names (for which see II A 4 c), as *Guhya-akshobhya-vajra* (2 M 5), *Guhya-manjuvajra* (2 M 4), *Guhya-sādhana-manjuçrī* (2 M 6), etc. But there are others without this prefix who belong to the same category,



such as *Vairocana-manjuvajra* (2 A 31). We propose to analyse here only two of them, whom we consider to be the most representative.

1. *Guhya-akshobhya-vajra*, alias *Akshobhya-vajra-guhya-samāja*, according to A, 2 M 5 (statue) and B 3 (painting).

His Chinese name *Mi-chi-pu-tung-chin-kang-fo* 密跡不動金剛佛 is a rendering of the first of the two Sanskrit appellations.

### Yab

Type: Bodhisattva, all ornaments. Bodhisattva posture.

Faces: 

◦◦	◦◦	◦◦
----	----	----

	Right	Hands	Left
1	?	raised	jewel bouquet
2	(painting: sword vajra	behind back of çakti	flower) bell
3	(painting: empty flower (painting: arrow	lowered	empty) sword bow)

### Yum

Bodhisattva type, all ornaments. One head.

	Right	Hands	Left
1	Thunderbolt	raised	bell
2	(painting: behind wheel	yab's slightly raised	neck) jewel bouquet
3	(painting: flower flower (lotus?) (painting: bow	horizontal	sword) sword arrow)

2. *Guhya-manju-vajra*, according to A, 2 M 4 (statue). His Chinese name is *Mi-chi-wên-shu-chin-kang-fo* 密跡文殊金剛佛. He is in many respects similar to *Guhya-akshobhya-vajra* (A, 2 M 5).

The attributes, as far as discernible, are:

### Yab

	Right	Hands	Left
1	sword	raised	flower (lotus)
2	vajra	behind back of çakti	bell
3	arrow	lowered	bow

### Yum

	Right	Hands	Left
1	thunderbolt	raised	bell
2	sword	horizontal	flower
3	noose	lowered	?

In concluding, we add the analysis of an amplification of the *Vajra-hūm-kāra* forms mentioned above, as represented in a statue 2 A 34. The wrathful deity standing in *ālīḍha* posture, has three heads, each showing the third eye on the forehead. He wears the skull crown, but otherwise the ornaments of a Bodhi-sattva. It seems that he, as well as his apparently one-headed çakti, has six hands. His two principal hands make the *vajra-hūm-kāra* gesture behind the back of the çakti.

### A 7. Painting: *Sitāta-patrāparājītā*

The full name of this goddess is *Sitāta-patrāparājītā*, T. *Gdugs-dkar-can-ma* or *Gdugs-dkar-mo*, M. *Caghan sikūrtei*, Ch. *Pai-shan-fo-mu*, 白傘佛母, meaning »The Invincible One of the White Parasol«. She is considered as a form of *Tārā*. The Tibetan term is usually shortened to *Gdugs-dkar*, whence her Mongolian appellation *Dugghar*, etc. Her full name is due to the coalescence of the names of three distinct goddesses of similar functions, one called: She with the White Parasol (*Sitātapatrā*), the other: She Who Cannot Be Conquered by Others (*aparājītā*), the third: *Ushnīsha-sitātapatrā* (*-aparājītā*, T. *Gtsug-gtor-gdugs-dkar gshan-gyis-mi thub-pa*): the Invincible White Umbrella (-goddess) sprung from the Buddha's skull excrescence. This expression refers to her supposed origin related in Hall X. The white umbrella is a very ancient insignia of the king in the Orient (see Hall III, altar objects: the eight auspicious or precious things, No. 1). »To erect the white



Fig. 11. Sitāta patrāparājitā

umbrella» stands metaphorically for ascending the throne. Concurrently it is a symbol of protection (cf. German *Schirm*, — *beschirmen*), a shield or shelter as it were.

Here the goddess is represented with a thousand heads, a thousand arms and feet, arranged in a way similar to her male counterpart, the Thousand-handed *Avalokiteṣvara* (Hall IV B 4), of whom she is regarded to be a special manifestation. She is, however, distinguished from him, apart from her female shape, by her characteristic attribute, the white parasol.

Her many-handed form shows a face slightly distorted by anger (*sa-krodha-hāsinī*, laughing angrily). She is credited with the power of destroying the six classes of living beings (symbolized by the many creatures upon which she treads).

She expels all diseases from the five senses and the bones, annihilates all sins, subdues demons and removes obstacles, protects travellers and breaks evil spells, conquers all kinds of calamities, and stops war and strife. Her thousand faces, arms and feet, symbolize her omnipresence, omniscience, and resourcefulness in helping mankind.

The foreground of this painting is occupied by the *Yama* pentad described in Hall II A 16.

In the «hymn and prayer-book» (T. *Rab-gsal*, No. 11 of the edition used in this temple), there is a brief text entitled *Gdugs-dkar bzlog-pa* (*Sitātapatrā* expulsion, i. e. Expelling demons through *Sitātapatrā*, briefly referred to as *dog-wa* «averting»). It is read with clapping of the hands nineteen times, a gesture called «dog-wa» (*bzlog-pa*), and intended to drive away the demons.<sup>5</sup> Pl. XXII, 1.

As *Sitātapatrā* is represented in that beautiful triad found in Hall X, we reserve a description of her origin, manifestations and functions for that place.

The three small shrines below this picture (7) contain a statue of the six-handed *Mahākāla* (middle), a stupa (N), and a *Sandalwood Buddha* (S) (Hall VIII).

In front of *Mahākāla* there stands a painted wooden skull bowl containing the six «sense-organs» (*citta*, heart or mind included) of a man (or demon). This is an offering to the Terrible Deities, the Tantric substitute for the flower-offering given to the Buddhas (cf. Hall II B 11, No. 13). Its Tibetan name is *dbang-poi-me-tog* (*indriya-pushpa?*), the «flower of the sense organs». A real flower of

this shape is said to grow only on the legendary *Mgon-po-ri*, the »Mountain of the Lord» (*Mahākāla*) in the SE of the *Wu t'ai-shan* 五臺山 massif. This seems to suggest some kind of *baetyl*, as explained in Hall XVI, Second Floor. The offering is represented in many paintings of the Terrible Deities (see also Hall II A 6 b and Hall II B 11, Pl. XIX).

#### A 8. Painting: *Vajra-sādhū-samaya*, *Rdo-rlegs*

*Dam-can Rdo-rlegs*, brown, on lion. (Cf. Hall II A 11 and B 7, but particularly Hall XVI, Second Floor).

The body of *Vajra-sādhū-samaya* is chocolate-brown. His right hand lifts a hammer, the left carries lungs and a heart, which he is about to devour. His garment is red, his undergarment seems to be green, his trousers are white with delicate patterns, his boots green.

The deities of this group (1, 5, 6, in the painting) are closely related both to each other and to *Pe-dkar* and his manifestations called *Skū-lnga* (Hall IV, C 19). They show strong similarities to them in type and dress. This is evidenced by their coarse, square faces, which are sometimes fringed by conventionalized curled beards, three widely opened, angrily staring eyes, thick-set bodies and rather short limbs. So far they resemble the Terrible Manifestations of the *Dharma-pāla* type. But instead of being nude, they wear the »Central Asian dress», long cloaks and trousers.

This image is said to have no special reference to this hall. That is doubtful, however, for the deity occurs here three times (see also A 11 and B 6). It may be intentional that *Padma-sambhava*, lord and master of this godling and his kin, has found a place — a very modest one, it is true — just opposite in Hall XVI, on the second floor, in the neighbourhood of »*Liching garbo*», a member of this same family of demons. »*Liching garbo*» closes the circle of deities represented in this temple.

For a detailed discussion of this and kindred deities, the *Dgra-lha* and *Skū-lnga*, see Hall XVI, Second Floor.

Let us go to the section north of the central statue in order to continue our study of the images (for general view of this part of the hall see Pl. XXII, 3).

#### A 9. Images of *Maitreya*

On a small table we find a small shrine containing a bronze of *Maitreya*, clad in an ex-voto robe (T. *na-bzah*). He is recognizable by the stupa in his hair. This statue is said to have come from Tibet.

In front, under glass, there is a picture of the seated *Maitreya*. His attributes are: the diadem of a Bodhisattva, a pagoda in his hair, two lotus flowers on a



Fig. 12. Maitreya (bhadraṣana)

level with his shoulders, which support the eight-spoked wheel (r.) and a »water-flask» (l.), his hands making the preaching gesture (see Hall IX).

The European manner in which *Maitreya* is seated is not usual for Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and most other categories of Buddhist divinities. It occurs, however, already in Gandharan art and is probably due to foreign influence. Though not limited to *Maitreya*, it is most frequently met with in images representing him and therefore popularly called *Maitreya seat* (T. *Byams-bshugs*, see *Çākyaṃuni*, Hall III). The technical term for it is *bhadraṣana*. It is imagined to portray the very moment, when the Bodhisattva, rising from meditation, is to descend from *Tushita* (T. *Dgah-ldan*) Heaven, of which he is the lord

(T. *Dgah-ldan-bdag*), in order to renew the preaching of the doctrine to a humanity forgetful of it. Then he will also change to the Buddha's usual way of sitting (for *Maitreya* sitting in the »Buddha posture», see Hall III, for the standing *Maitreya*, see Halls VII and XIV). The representation we have here is called *Vyākaraṇa-Maitreya*, »*Maitreya of the Prophecy*» (*vyākaraṇa*, T. *lung-bstan*), because it depicts him in the moment when he made a prophecy to the famous brothers *Asanga* and *Vasabandhu*. This refers to the legend that *Asanga* visited *Maitreya* in *Tushita* Heaven where he was initiated by the Bodhisattva into the *Tantra* mysteries. With regard to this event the lamas relate the following story:<sup>6</sup>

*Asanga* strove to obtain a personal apparition of *Maitreya*, the Buddha of the Future, by devoting himself to religious practises for three years. Discouraged, he abandoned his efforts and left the mountain which had been his abode for so long. On the way down he saw a little bird pecking a hole in a rock in order to build a nest in it. Its persistent efforts put him to shame, and he resumed his exercises. At the end of another three years he despaired again and again he descended. This time he saw a man grinding a thick iron rod. The saint asked him why he was doing this. »I want to grind this down into a needle», was the reply. So *Asanga* returned once more and continued his propitiation, with no better result, however. The next time he descended he met a man working a channel through a rock with a hoe. For the third time *Asanga* returned to his solitary place. But three more years of futile efforts elapsed

and made him waver. This time he saw a dog on the road covered with ulcers teeming with vermin. Moved by pity, he began to relieve the sufferings of the wretched animal by removing the maggots, one by one. But suddenly he stopped. »By doing so», he reflected, »I deprive these small beings of their food and they will die. And in addition to this, I cause the dog much pain». So he cut a piece of flesh from his thigh to feed the maggots. At this moment the dog soared to the skies and became transformed into *Maitreya*. He spoke to *Asanga*: »Now, dear son, you have reached your aim! The bird, the two men, and the dog, they all were I, *Maitreya*, your *guru*».

*Vasubandhu*, the younger brother, had been a follower of the heretical *Vaiṣeṣika* sect for a long time. When he was converted to the doctrine which his brother was propagating, the *Yogācāra* or *Vijñānavāda* school, he surpassed him in talent, but never succeeded in obtaining a manifestation of *Maitreya*. He told his brother to ask *Maitreya* the reason. *Maitreya* replied: »By propagating heretical views for so long a time, *Vasubandhu* has accumulated great sins. To expiate them he must compose 500 textbooks (*çāstras*). Before he has done this he shall not behold my face».

The story is quoted here merely for the purpose of giving the specific atmosphere surrounding these images, to conjure up that world of faith and miracles which forms the background of this type of religious art. By trying to investigate not only what is represented by a given image, but also why it is thus represented, we may hope to come to understand its historical, and, what is more, its psychological implications. The writer will not attempt to give a typological analysis of this legend. May it suffice to emphasize the fact that we have here, as in all »fairy tales» (*Märchen*), a hero desirous to reach a high aim (here a religious ideal) by laborious efforts. Four attempts prove to be abortive, because he always underrates his perseverance. The fourth, although as futile as the previous three, suggests at last the right idea to him: the typical self-sacrifice, a topic of countless Buddhist legends, the outcome of Buddhist charity (*maitrī*) results in the apparition of the Charitable One (*Maitreya*). The dog eaten by maggots occurs also in the Legends of the Eighty-Four Magicians (*Mahāsiddhas*).<sup>7</sup> The moral of this story appears to be that *maitrī* love (characterized as *sarvasattveshu eka-putra-prematā*, »loving all beings in the way one loves one's only son») triumphs over *vīrya* effort. The legend about *Asanga's* brother, *Vasubandhu*, is not closely connected with the first story. It obviously wants to inculcate the view that spreading false views is a sin entailing particularly grave consequences.

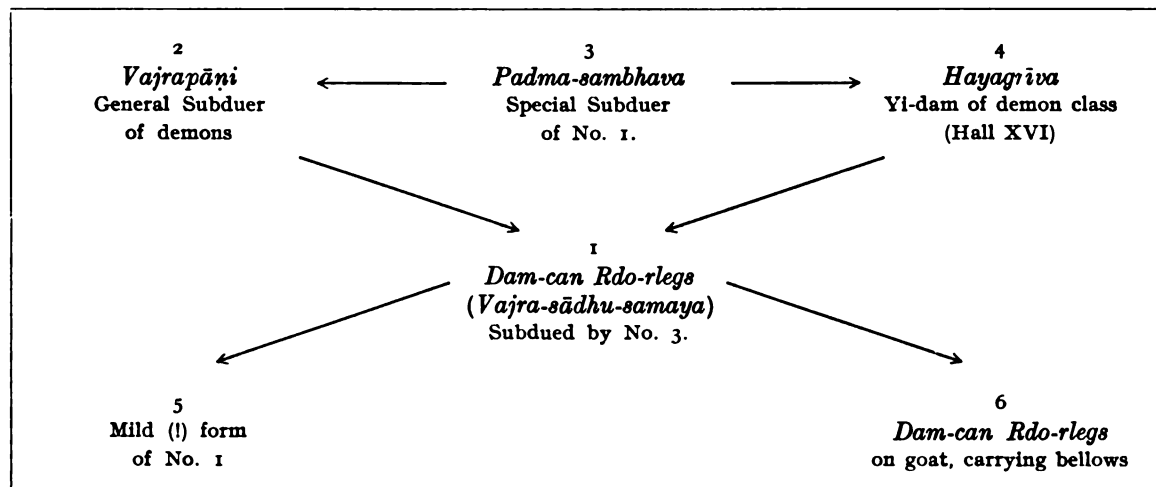
#### A 10. Statue: *Çākyamuni*

Ex-voto statue, representing *Çākyamuni* on a high lotus seat (see Hall III).

## A 11. Painting: *Vajra-sādhū-samaya*

The Tibetan name of this group of deities (Nos. 1, 5, 6) is *Dam-can Rdo-rje-legs-pa* (cf. A 8, B 4, and Hall XVI, Second Floor).

Arrangement of figures (the lines indicate interrelation of figures):



## A 12—19. Eight Dharmapalas

The eight paintings covering the east wall north of the central shrine are a group of *Dharmapalas* or Protectors of the Faith. The group differs from the statues in shrine II A 4. The first six paintings are of equal size. Some of these are said to have been painted in Tibet and to date from the *Ch'ien-lung* period (1736—1795), others are supposed to come from the brush of a Chinese painter of Lamaist icons of the name of *Liu*, who lived some sixty or seventy years ago and whose work is still held in high esteem. All this oral information is, however, very vague, and written records do not seem to be available.

These pictures are usually hidden from the stares of the curious by black curtains (T. *shal-khabs*, *supra*, Hall II 4 A). It is only during solemn services (T. *bskang-gso*, M. *khangghal*), when offerings are placed on tables in front of them (see Pl. XXII, 3), that they are unveiled. The following deities are represented:

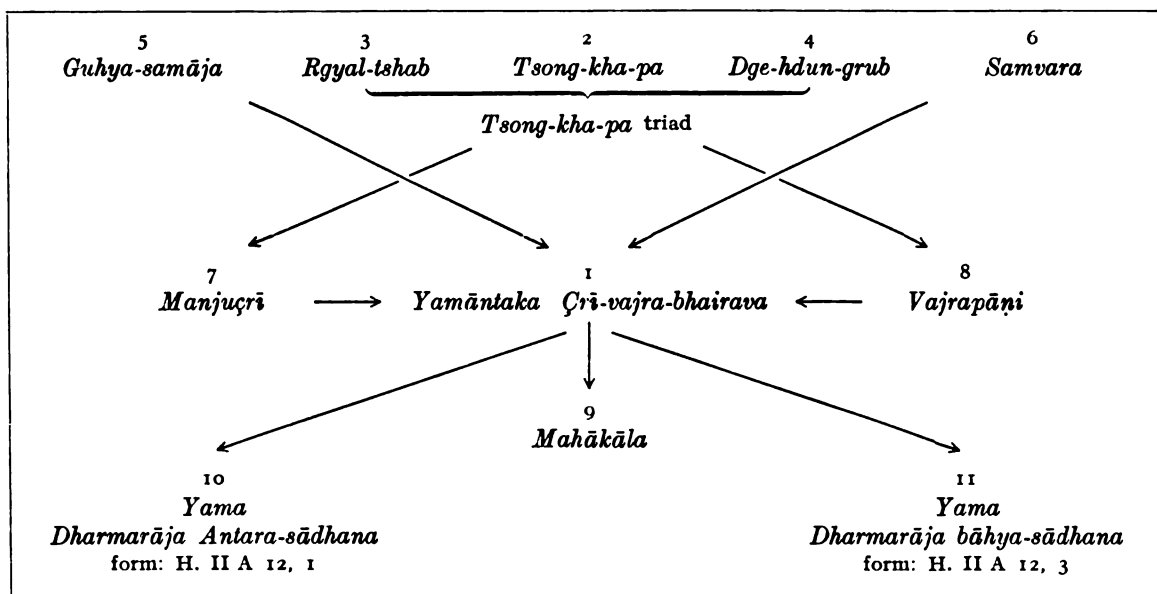
### A 12. Painting: *Yama Triad*

Its Tibetan name is *Phyi-nang-gsang-gsum*: The Triad of the Outer, Inner and Mysterious Deeds (cf. II A 16 and H. VI).

1. *Dharmarāja antara-sādhana* (T. *nang-sgrub*), dark blue, demon's (*Rākshasa*'s) face, standing on corpse. R. h. chopper, l. h. skull bowl.

2. *Dharmarāja guhya-sādhana* (T. *gsang-sgrub*) red, bull's face, ithyphallic, on light red bull kneeling on human body. R. h. jewel (*cintāmaṇi*), l. h. skull bowl.
  3. *Dharmarāja bāhya-sādhana* (T. *phyi-sgrub*), dark blue, bull's face, ithyphallic, on bull kneeling on flesh-coloured human body.  
*Yamī* approaching *Yama*, offering skull bowl.  
 Compare this painting with Hall II A 16 and the *Yama* Pentad, Hall II A 7.
- 1—5. For mythological and iconographical evolution of *Yama*, see Hall VI.

A 13. Painting: *Yamāntaka trayodaça-deva*

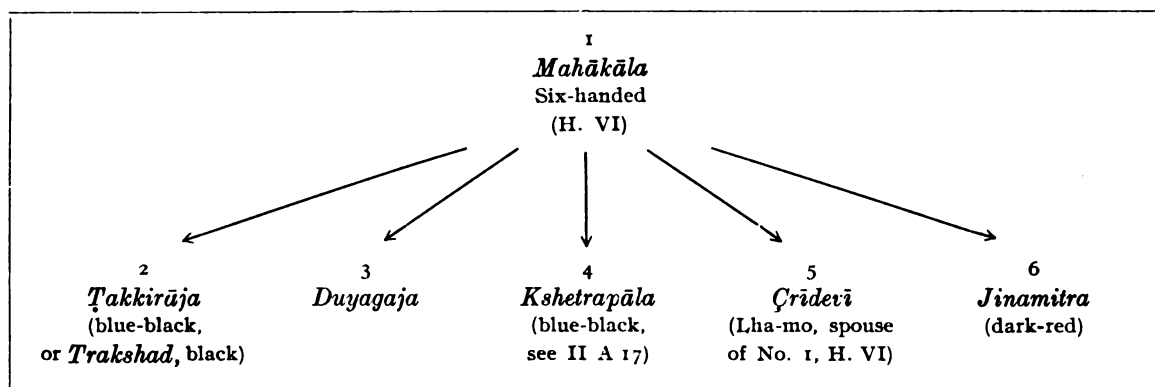


*Tsong-kha-pa* is represented here because *Yamāntaka* is his special Yi-dam. The reformer used to conduct a service of *Yamāntaka* (1), *Guhya-samāja* (5), and *Samvara* (6) every day. Being the most essential gods of his doctrine (see Hall II A 4 a—c), they are very frequently grouped together. *Manjuçrī* is present, because he is reincarnated in *Tsong-kha-pa* and because *Yamāntaka* is his fierce manifestation. He, with *Vajrapāṇi* (8) and *Avalokiteçvara* here replaced by *Mahākāla*, his terrible manifestation (9, see II A 14), forms the famous group called the *Rigsum-mgon-po* (see Halls II B 5 and XV A 16). *Vajrapāṇi* is here manifested in his mild aspect as one of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas (*Nye-sras-brgyad*, Hall XIV). *Yama* (10, 11) is represented twice here, because he is *Tsong-kha-pa*'s Special Protector of the Law, while *Mahākāla* is a »Universal Protector«. Compare this conclave of deities with the statues in Hall II, A 4, a—e.

This painting is explained by the lamas as representing *Yamāntaka* with his twelve companions, T. *Hjigs-byed lha-bcu-gsum*. If it were complete it would show all the »canonical« divinities of the Yellow Church.



#### A 14. Painting: *Mahākāla* Pentad



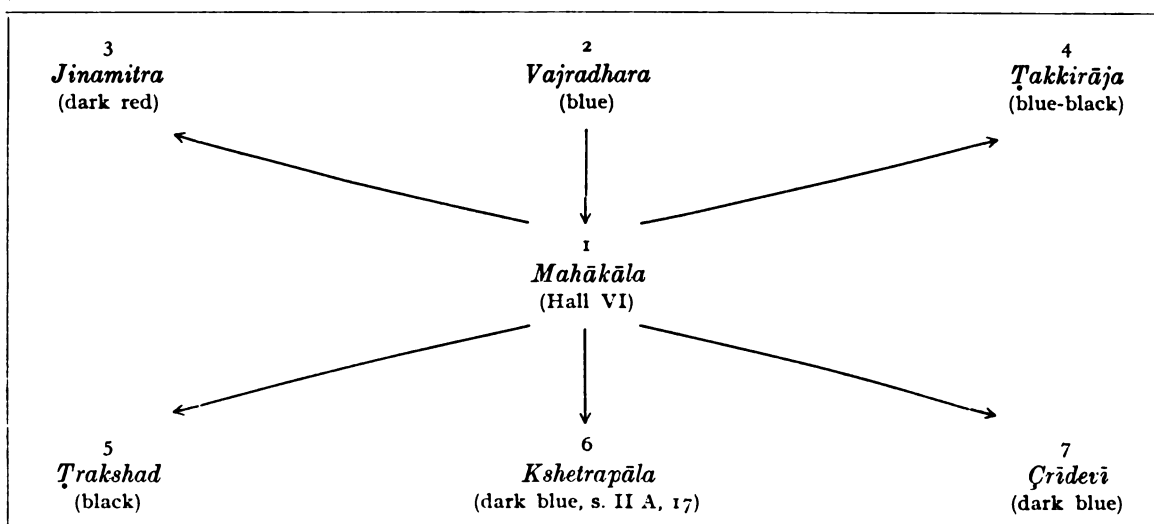
Pentad: *Mahākāla* and four of his retainers with the addition of his spouse. She is blue-black. See Hall VI, and the next painting.

The Tibetan texts give names of Nos. 2—4 and 6, usually untranslated in the original Sanskrit. For a more developed conclave of *Mahākāla*, see Hall II B 9 and B 12; cf. A 15.

The retinue (*parivāra*) of *Mahākāla* will be described in Hall VI.

#### A 15. Painting: *Mahākāla*

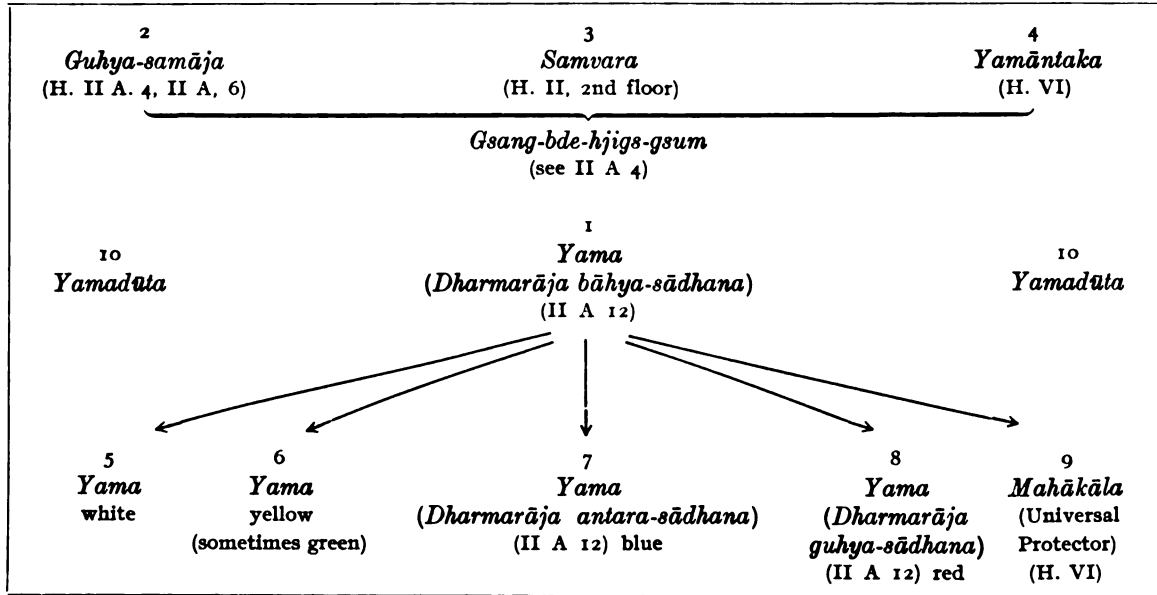
This picture is said to have been painted in Peking; it represents a form of *Mahākāla*, probably the six-handed one, see Hall II B 12 with *Vajradhara* and the Five Retainers (see A 14). Arrangement of the figures, as far as they are visible:



Nos. 1 and 3—6 form a pentad; Nos. 1 and 7 are *nara-narī* (T. *yab-yum*)

The different shades from dark blue to black required by the *sadhanas* are generally represented by the same dark blue hue.

## A 16. Painting: *Yama* Pentad



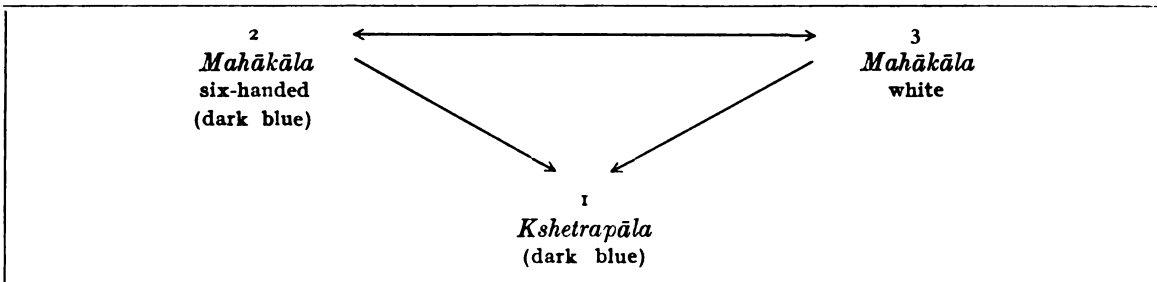
1, 5, 6, 7, 8: *Yama* pentad. 1, 7 and 8, *Yama* triad, see Hall II A 12.

No. 10 are the eight male and eight female messengers of death, *Yamadūta* (T. *pha-brgyad*, *ma-brgyad* or *pho-brgyad* and *mo-brgyad*).

We have here the usual *Yama* pentad with the addition of the *Guhya-samāja* triad (see Hall II A 4) and a form of *Mahākāla* as the Universal Protector and Chief of the Guardians (*Dharmapālas*). This pentad occurs as »retinue«, *parivāra* of *Sitāta-patrāparājītā*, see H. II A 7. For more details see Hall VI.

## A 17. Painting: *Kshetrapāla*

This picture of *Kshetrapāla* is said to have been painted in Tibet.



*Kshetrapāla*'s body is dark blue. A white snake wriggles through his brown hair which stands erect. He wears the skull crown. As a deity of inferior rank, he is not entitled to the ornaments of a Bodhisattva, but here they are accorded to him as an independent manifestation. In his right hand he has a chopper, in his



Fig. 13. Kshetrapāla

left he holds a skull bowl. The curious quadruped he is using as a mount is a kind of bear<sup>8</sup>. Bears and wolves frequently appear as mounts of demons and witches, as in the Edda. His spell (dharani) as given in D (Three Hundred Buddhas) is *Om kshetrapāla vighna hūm phaṭ*.

The Mongolians call him *Citrābala*, the Tibetans use the translation of his Sanskrit name, *Shing-skyong*. This appellation, which is also known as an epithet of *Śiva*, means Guardian of the Field, that is to say, the cemetery (see Hall II, Second Floor, Mandala of *Samvara*, the Eight Cemeteries).

*Kshetrapāla* is a godling of the Yaksha type. He rarely appears in the role of an independent deity, as here, but

usually in the retinue of *Mahākāla-Śiva* who is a god of cemeteries. Here he belongs to the group of the Five Retainers (Hall II A 14 and 15). One of his epithets, T. *Rgyal-gdon*, «Victorious Demon», refers to his function: a demoniac subduer of demons.

It is interesting that the name of this low-ranking divinity was known to Alberuni, who says in his *India* (Vol. I, p. 120 of E. Sachau's translation), «Further joined with them (viz. the seven Mothers) the sons of *Mahādeva*, *Kshetrapāla* with bristling hair, a sour face, and an ugly figure . . .»

There is a legend connecting *Kshetrapāla* with *Tsong-kha-pa*:

Once, when *Tsong-kha-pa* was preaching, demons hostile to the Holy Doctrine aroused a formidable storm which hurled stones towards the Teacher, endangering his life. While his disciples stared with frightened eyes at their Master, he called *Kshetrapāla* from below the pulpit. The demon appeared and, by wielding his chopper, or, according to another version, by making the threatening gesture (*tarjanī-mudrā*, T. *sdigs-mdsub*), he intimidated the demons responsible for the storm. This is evidently the adaptation of a legend about *Vajrapāṇi* and *Çākya-muni*.

#### A 18. Painting: *Çrīdevī*

This painting represents *Çrīdevī*, whom we know already as the spouse of *Mahākāla* (see also Hall VI).

A 19. Painting: *Kuan Ti*

*Kuan Ti*, Chinese God of War (cf. H. II B 5 and, for details, Hall XIII).

His picture is found in many halls, for he was the patron god of the last dynasty and is still considered to be a special protector of the *Yung-ho-kung*.

IMAGES: ROW B

Row B comprises twenty-nine paintings hanging between the pillars in front of the images arranged along the eastern wall.

We commence our examination of them from the north-eastern corner.

Painting: Palace of *Vaiçravaṇa*

This modern representation of *Vaiçravaṇa*'s Palace, described Hall II, Appendix, is not indicated in the sketch.

B 1. Painting. *Hayagrīva*

A veil of red silk conceals a modern picture of *Hayagrīva* (T. *Rta-mgrin*) »Horse-neck» (Ch. *Ma-t'ou-kuan-yin*, J. *Batōk(w)annon* 馬頭觀音, the Horse-headed *Avalokiteçvara*), the Yi-dam form of *Padmapāṇi Avalokiteçvara*<sup>9</sup>. As *Avalokiteçvara* is the Dhyānibodhisattva of the Dhyānibuddha *Amitābha*, *Hayagrīva* held a prominent place among the Yi-dams. Now he is overshadowed in some respects by *Yamāntaka* (Halls II A 4 d and VI), who is obviously a later invention.

Paintings — but no statues — representing *Hayagrīva* are found in many places in the *Yung-ho-kung* (e. g. Hall II B 13 and Hall XV), even in places, where he has no special significance for the services held. This due to his being particularly popular with the Mongols. They are said to worship him as a God of Horses, an idea which is not endorsed by all lamas. In all solemn services for the Terrible Ones (T. *bskang-gso*, M. *khangghal*, see Hall II B 11 and Introduction), the invocation of *Hayagrīva* is essential on account of his power »to dispel demons», which is a metaphor for »removing all obstacles», particularly all distracting thoughts preventing the efficacious fulfilment of the rites.

More information concerning this important deity will be found in our description of Hall XV.

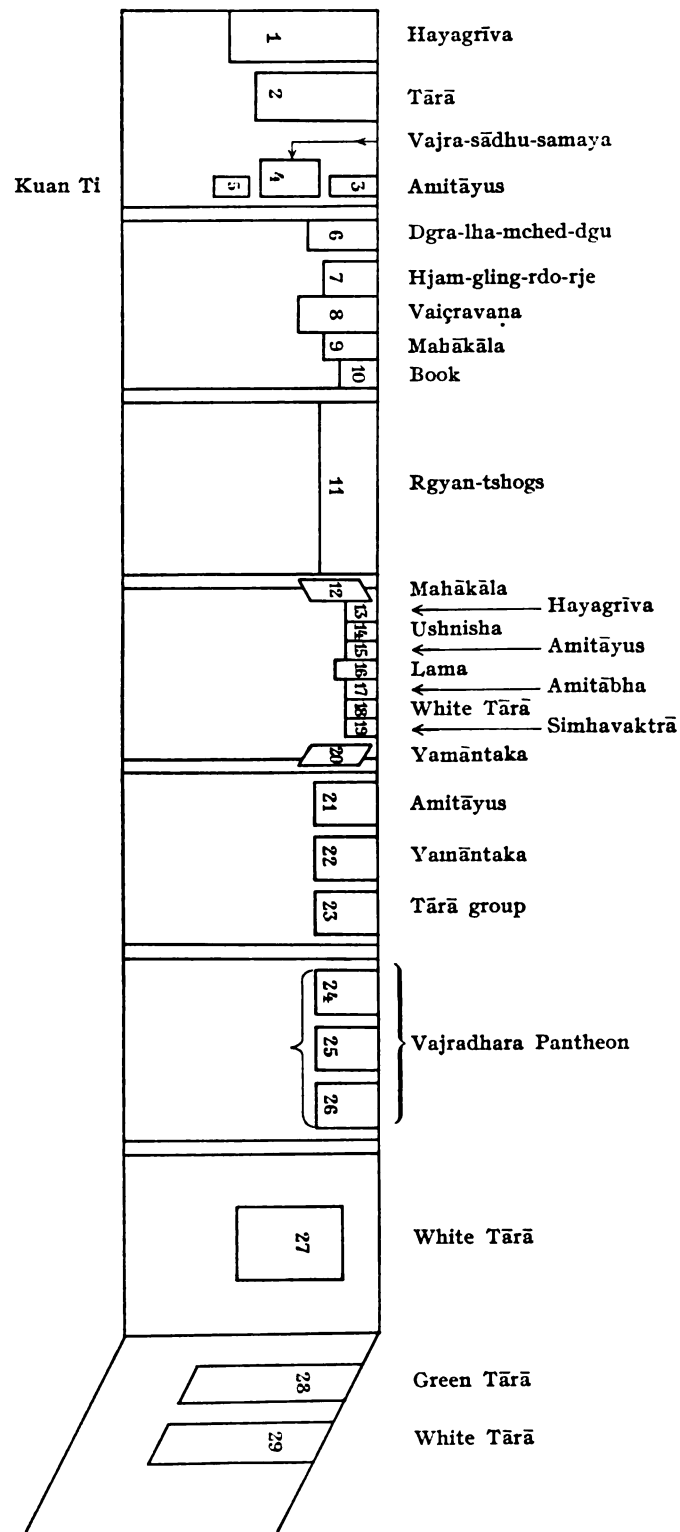
B 2. A large painting of the goddess Green *Tārā*, see Hall X

B 3. Painting of the Dhyānibuddha *Amitāyus*, see Hall V

B 4. Painting: the Yul-lha *Vajra-sādhū-samaya* or *Dam-can Rdo-rje-legs-pa* (*supra*, A 8, A 11, and especially Hall XVI, Second Floor.)

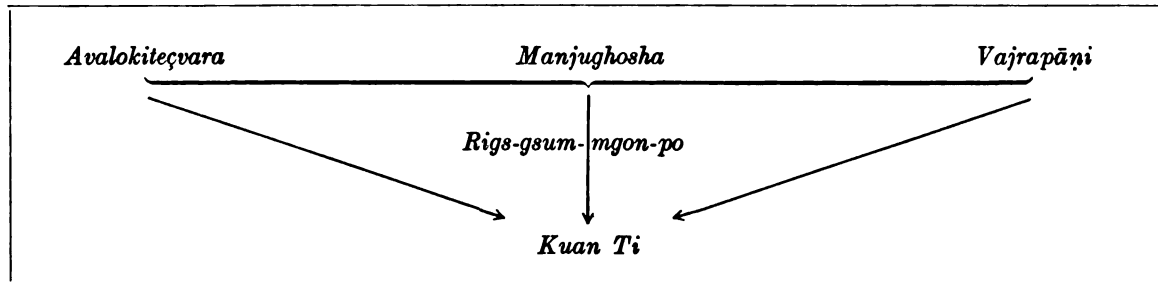
## Hall II

### Sketch 3: Row B



### B 5. Painting: *Kuan Ti*

*Kuan Ti*, the native Chinese God of War (cf. A 19 and Hall XIII).



*Kuan Ti*, the Chinese hero of the second and third centuries of our era, who was later elevated to the rank of a God of War, here figures as a spiritual descendant of the same Buddhist Indian gods who are supposed to be manifest in *Tsong-kha-pa* himself, and known of as *Riḡs-gsum-mgon-po*, or Three Noble Protectors (for these see Hall II A 13 and particularly Hall XV A 15). Here we have further evidence of the trend prevalent under the Manchu dynasty to amalgamate Lamaist and Chinese religious ideas and ideals. As a result of this amalgamation *Mañjuśhoṣa-Manjuṣrī* became the Indo-Tibetan, and *Kuan Ti*, the native Chinese Guardian of the Reigning House,<sup>10</sup> (also Halls XII and XIII, and painting Hall II A 19).

### B 6. Painting: The Nine Fiend-Gods

*Dgra-lha mched-dgu*, The Fraternity of the Nine Fiend-Gods, represented as emanations of *Vajrapāṇi* (above). Below: the »requisites» (T. *rgyan-tshogs* cf. Hall II B 11) of the nine gods. The term *dgra-lha* (»fiend-gods») denotes a whole class of deities of different origin (see *Sülde*, Hall IV C 9, and Hall XVI, Second Floor.).

### B 7. Painting: *Hjam-gling Rdo-rje*

Painting representing T. *Bsam-gling Rdo-rje*, or according to others, T. *Hjam-gling Rdo-rje*, said to be one of the Gods of Riches (T. *Nor-lha*), with his retinue.

*Hjam-gling Rdo-rje*, or *Bsam-gling Rdo-rje* is blue; his face and posture resemble those of *Vajrapāṇi*: one face, two hands, standing. Right hand, trident; left hand, noose.

Evidently this individual is a Dharmapala manifestation and we shall have to make researches into the wide-spread *Vajrapāṇi* clan for his identification.

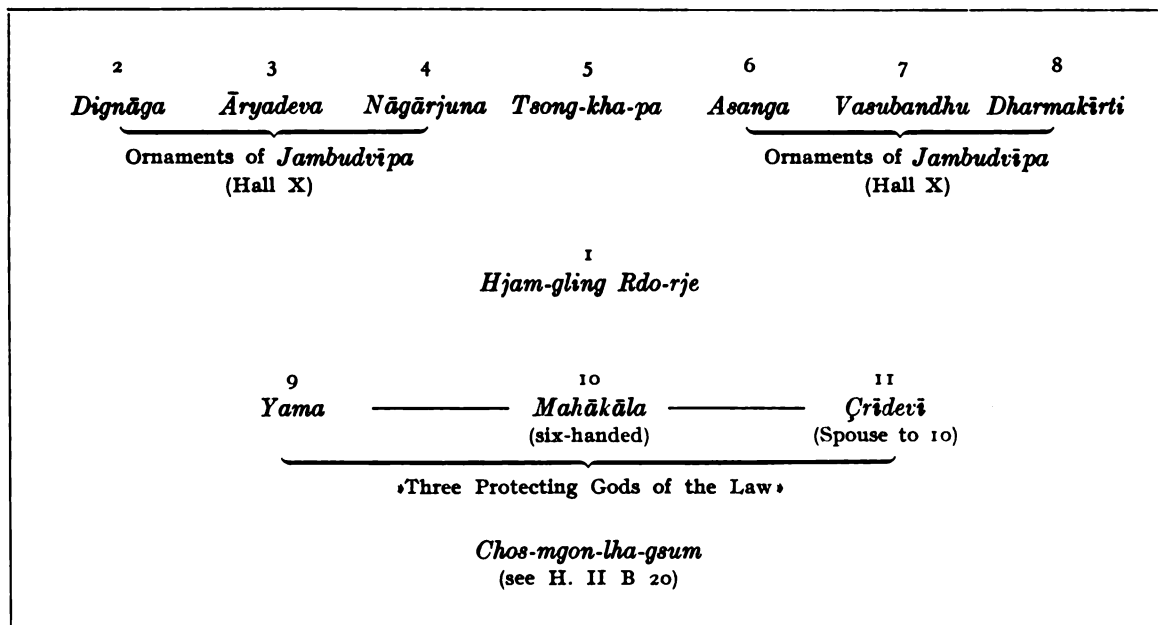


Fig. 14. Vaiṣṇavaṇa

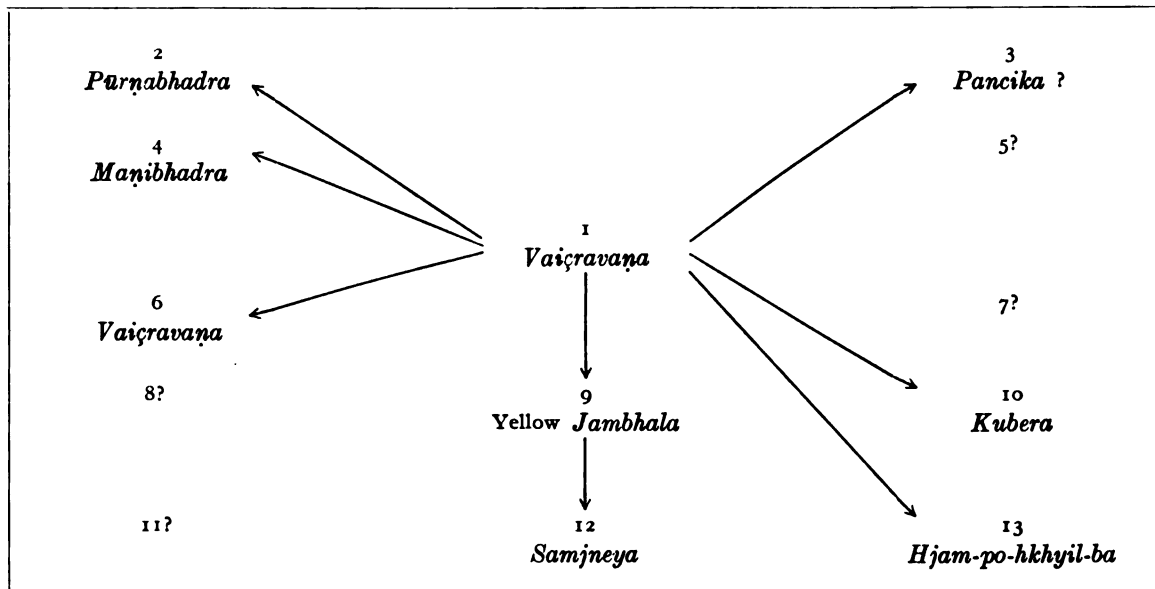
The vague explanation: a god of riches, given by a lama, offers no clue as to the character of the divinity. In fact nearly all the gods may be invoked to bestow wealth. The name *Hjam-gling Rdo-rje*, if correct, would suggest the Sanskritization, *Jambu-dvīpa-vajra*, and the explanation: Vajra (diamond or thunderbolt) of *Jambudvīpa*, *Jambudvīpa* the Indestructible personified, as it were. Some connection with *Jambudvīpa* might be construed by the presence of figures 2—4 and 6—8 constituting the «Six Ornaments of *Jambudvīpa*» (for the iconography of which see Hall X).

Are we to suppose, then, that figures 2—II, ten in all, constitute a special group, which is incorporated in fig. 1, as its chief? Is this, then, a personification

of *Jambudvīpa* as *Vajrakāya*, the cosmic *puruṣa*? Another lama gave *Bsam-gling Rdo-rje* as the name. This might mean: Vajra of (the monastery) *Bsam-yas*, founded by *Padma-sambhava* in 749 A.D. But then we should expect him to hold the place occupied here by *Tsong-kha-pa* (No. 5).<sup>11</sup> A definite identification has to be reserved pending further studies of texts.

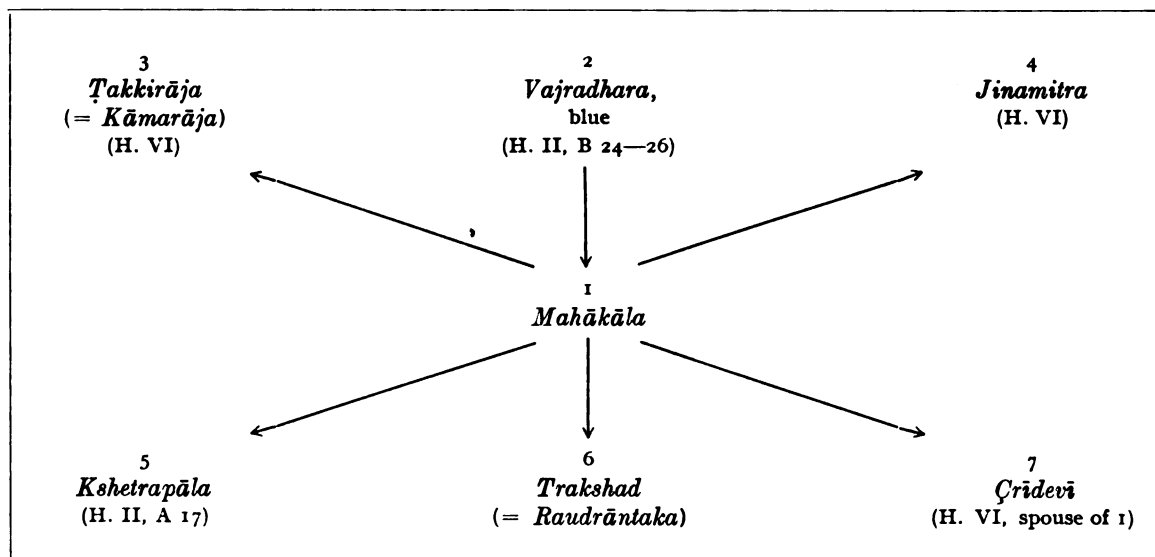


B 8. Painting of *Vaiçravaṇa*, God of Riches, with retinue. A good picture, damaged.



The names of the companions, as far as they could be identified or conjectured, are those of the familiar eight Yaksha generals of *Vaiçravaṇa*, who apparently occurs twice himself (1, 6) besides his manifestation as *Kubera* (for the relation *Vaiçravaṇa* — *Kubera*, see Hall I, *Lokapālas*; cf. also Hall VI: *Vaiçravaṇa*).

B 9. Painting of Six-handed *Mahākāla*.





Nos. 1 and 3—6 form a pentad, Nos. 1 and 7 are *nara-narī* (yab-yum), *supra*, A 14 and 15, and *infra*, B 12.

B 10. Painting of a book on a lotus stand, so-called *Snyan-dar*. This term pronounced *nyan-dyr*, originally meant a poetical eulogy (*kāvya*, T. *snyan-ngag*), addressed to a god.

#### B 11. Painting: *Rgyan-tshogs*

Painting showing the attributes and offerings belonging to *Mahākāla* and *Yama*. Pictures of this type are called »sets of ornaments» (T. *rgyan-tshogs*, pronounced by the Mongols *jensykh*, S. *bhūṣhaṇa-gaṇa?*, or T. *bskang-rdsas*, pronounced *kang-dzā*), »material for the T. *bskang-gso* or banquet», the *θεοξερία* offered to the Dharmapālas. This excellent picture is said to have been painted about seventy-five years ago. It represents the objects belonging or offered to *Mahākāla* (left) and *Yama* (right), Pls. XXII, 3 and XXIII.

For rapid orientation we insert here a list of the chief objects seen in the reproductions of the two halves of the painting. Material discrepancies between the two sections are noted in brackets.

##### A. Attributes:

1. Elephant-headed *Gaṇeṣa* or *Gaṇapati* as »demon» (*vighna*), supine. (*Yama*'s bull kneeling on female body which he seems about to devour) See Hall VI, *Yama*.
2. Skull bowl, chopper and sword of *Mahākāla*. [Skeleton club of *Yama*].
3. Arrow, transfixing a heart (not found in any form of *Mahākāla* known to the writer; the usual attribute we should expect here is the chaplet made of human skulls).
4. Skull drum of *Mahākāla*.
5. Trident (*triṣūla*, T. *rtse-gsum*) of *Mahākāla* and of *Yamī* respectively.
6. Noose of *Mahākāla*.
7. Leaf of carrot or radish which *Gaṇeṣa* (No. 1) holds in his proboscis.
8. Part of elephant's hide (feet visible), covering *Mahākāla*'s back.
9. Dress covering lower part of *Gaṇeṣa*'s (No. 1) body.
10. Ornaments of *Mahākāla* and *Yama* respectively.

##### B. Offerings (cf. photograph illustrating Hall II, Row A, Nos. 12—14).

- 11—17. Set of offerings called T. *mchod-rdsas*, consisting of seven bowls made of human skulls. They contain seven of the eight offerings essential in all rites; here they consist of their specific Tantric material (as quoted in parenthesis):

11. Water for the face (blood).
12. Water for the feet (urine) [absent in *Yama's* picture, see explanation below].
13. Flowers (made of human eyes, hearts, lungs, etc.), planted in a brain (*dbang-poi me-tog*, cf. at end of Hall II A 7).
14. Incense (smoke of burnt flesh).
15. Lamp (fed by human fat).
16. Perfumed water (fluid and clotted blood).
17. Food (five kinds of flesh: that human flesh, *mahāmāmsa*, is included, appears from the human figure emerging from the skull bowl). [Different from *Yama*.]
18. Music, represented by trumpets, drums, human thighbones, and other musical instruments. For *Mahākāla's* favourite instrument, the skull drum, see No. 4.
19. Special dough offering (*bali*, M. *baling*, T. *gtor-ma*) in a human skull, surmounted by an arrow with a black veil-like covering (M. *alcor*), and decorated with a skull bowl and chopper (No. 2), a crossed vajra (*viçva-vajra*), sun, moon, and the flame (*nāda*).
20. »Inner» offering, boiling.
21. *Spyan-rdsas* (explanation *infra*).
22. *Devīs* making oblations (see Hall II, Second Floor, key to *Mandala of Samvara*, No. 21).
23. Mount Sumeru.
24. Mountains encircling the Nine Oceans.
25. The Nine Oceans.
26. *Indra's* Palace.

Similar paintings are made for all the Terrible and also for some of the Mild Deities, as *Kuan Ti* and *Vaiçravaṇa*. They were suggested by the tendency to personify inanimate objects, here the weapons (*āyudha*, T. *go-mtshon*), attributes, and other belongings of the deities. Such objects are supposed to have been created by or to have emanated from them, forming a part of them, and therefore deserving the same worship as the gods themselves, for they are capable of conferring the same blessings. As all the other images, these paintings serve the lama as a support (*ālambana*), a starting point in the meditation preparatory to performing the rites, as a means of mental self-identification with the deity in the process of *sādhana*, »realization». Pictures destined for the Terrible Ones should, therefore, contain all the requisites enumerated in the texts dealing with the »banquet».

The centre of this painting is occupied by the mythical mountain *Sumeru* or *Meru* No. 23, the »Excellent Mountain» (T. *Ri-rab*, M. *Sumbur*, Ch. transcribed

as *Hsü-mi-shan*, J. *Shu-mi-sen* 須彌山 or translated as *Miao-kao-shan*, J. *Myō-kōsen* 妙高山),<sup>12</sup> sometimes identified by the Chinese with their own mythical mountain, *K'un-lun* 崑崙, the centre of the Universe, according to Indian Buddhist cosmology.<sup>13</sup>

It is composed of four tiers (*parishanda*, T. *pang-rim*, a term applying also to the steps of a stupa) which are shaped like inverted, truncated cones. This peculiar shape reminds us somehow of the »inverted tree of life» found in Asia. The uppermost of these four »tiers» is surmounted by a cone-shaped structure with a group of palaces on its summit. The mountain is encircled by a ninefold girdle of iron mountains (No. 24) which are separated from each other by nine oceans (Ch. *chiu-shan chiu-hai* 九山九海, No. 24 and 25).<sup>14</sup>

The colours, material, and symbolism of the four sides of this mountain are as follows:

	Cardinal Point	Colour	Material	Symbolizes
1	South (front)	blue	sapphire	water
2	East (indicated in our painting by a white border, r. h. from observer?)	white	silver	rising sun
3	West (painting: a red border opposite to 2?)	red	coral	setting sun, fire
4	North (back, invisible in painting)	yellow	gold	gold

In each of these four quarters or cardinal points outside the nine circles and within the great salt-ocean surrounding them, there are one greater and, flanking it, two minor continents of »world-islands» (*dvīpa* and *upadvīpa* respectively), making twelve in all. Some of them, represented by geometrical figures (squares, triangles, circles, crescents) are seen in this painting.

Table of the Four Major (Nos. 1, 4, 7, and 10) and Eight Minor »Continents«  
(*Dvīpa* and *Upadvīpa*) Surrounding Mount Sumeru

No.	Name	Direction	Colour	Element	Shape	No. in Sketch 4. Remarks
1	<i>Jampudvīpa</i> , T. Hdsam-bu-gling, M. Dsambu Tib, Ch. Jan-pu-chou (瞻部洲).	South	blue	water	□ (or △?)	3. Originally meant India, then the <i>οικουμένη</i>
2	<i>Cāmara</i> , T. Rnga-yab, M. Shirbegür-tü, Ch. (Hsiao-) fu-chou (小拂洲).					8.
3	<i>Apara-cāmara</i> , T. Rnga-yab-gshan, M. Busu-shirbegür-tü Tib, Ch. Pieh- (fu-) chou (別拂洲).					9.
4	<i>Apara-godāniya</i> , T. Nub-kyi-ba-(g)lang-spyod, M. Ürüne-üker-tü Tib, Ch. Niu-huo-chou (牛貨洲).	West	red	fire	○	4.
5	<i>Çāṭhā</i> , T. G'yo-ldan, M. Tegün-edetü, Ch. Chü-hsiao-chou, Yao (具小洲搖).					10.
6	<i>Uttara-mantriṇa</i> , T. Lām-mchog-hgro-ba, M. Dégedü-mör-dür odokhcl, Ch. Tao-shêng-hsing, (道勝行).					
7	<i>Purva-videha</i> , T. Çar-gyi-lus-hphags, M. Dorona-ülemji-beyetü, Ch. Tung-shêng-shên-chou, Tung-shên-chou (東勝神洲, 東神洲).	East	white	silver	D	2.
8	<i>Deha</i> , T. Lus, M. Beyetü, Ch. Shên (身).					6.
9	<i>Videha</i> , Lus-hphags M. Ülemji-beyetü (Tib), Ch. Shên-chou, Shêng-chou (身洲, 勝洲).					7.
10	<i>Uttara-kuru</i> , T. Byang-gi-sgra-mi-snyan, M. Omura-maghu-daghotu (Tib), Ch. Pei-chü-lu-chou (北俱盧洲).	North	yellow	metal, gold	△	5. (not visible in picture) Inhabitants of this <i>dvīpa</i> bear features similar to Hyperboreans.
11	<i>Kurava, Kurāva</i> , T. Sgra-mi-snyan, M. Maghu-daghotu, Ch. Miao-yin, O-yin (妙音, 惡音).					12.
12	<i>Kaurava</i> , T. Sgra-mi-snyan-gyi zla-ba, M. Maghu-daghotu-iyn nükür, Ch. Miao-yin-tui, O-yin-tui (妙音對, 惡音對).					13.

Sun and moon, as a red and a white disk respectively, are hovering between clouds and the mountains. Each of these four spheres is under the rule of one of the four Great Kings (Lokapālas, see Hall I), who, assisted by a host of demons, presides also over one element and one specific colour. The king imparts the hue of his face to the air and water of his particular realm as indicated in the picture.

The buildings located on the summit of Mount *Sumeru* show a type similar to the circular building known as the Temple of Heaven, more properly the *Ch'i-nien-tien* 祈年殿, and the *P'u-lo-tien* 普樂殿 (Court IV, incense burner). They represent *Sudarçana* (T. *Blta-na-sdug-pa*, Ch. *Shan-chien*, J. *Zenken* 善見), *Indra's Palace*.<sup>15</sup>

The centre of each half of the painting is marked by a kind of pyramidal pile consisting of the attributes and trophies of the two deities concerned.

Fairies (goddesses, *devīs* or *Tārās*, No. 22) are hovering in clouds around the mountain in the centre (see Hall II, Second Floor, Mandala of *Samvara*, No. 21).

On its left side *Gaṇeṣa* (No. 1; see Hall VI), lying on his back, clearly points towards some manifestation of *Mahākāla*, though, as far as the writer is aware, the heart transfixed by an arrow (No. 3) does not occur in any of the numerous variations of this polymorphous deity. But his skull bowl, chopper, sword (No. 2), and trident (No. 5) are unmistakable guides to his identification.

In front of this pile of attributes we have the usual set of eight offerings, but in their highly Tantric, or to be more exact, T. *»bskang-gso»* form. They are no longer the refined gifts presented to an Indian raja in receptacles of artistic design. All are contained in skull bowls. On examining their contents we find what might be conceived of as the dishes of a cannibal feast (Pl. XIX).

The special gifts, called in T. *lha-rdsas* »objects for the gods», are of three kinds:

a. T. *mchod-mdsas*, or oblations, viz., the eight offerings, the five »gratifications for the senses», *panca-kāma-guṇa*, T. *hdod-yon-lnga* (beautiful objects, music, food, perfumes, clothes), the »inner offering» (*ādhyātma-pūjā*, T. *nang-mchod*, No. 20) in the skull bowl, the »secret offerings» (*guhya-pūjā*, T. *gsang-mchod*), i. e. the objects secretly vowed to the deity, the seven and eight precious things (see Hall III), and the eight auspicious objects (see Hall IV).

b. T. *spyān-rdsas* (No. 21), objects to gratify the eyes of a god, as animals, etc. The *spyān-rdsas* for *Mahākāla* comprise thirteen dogs, thirteen sheep, thirteen yaks, and thirteen horses, all black.

c. T. *dam-rdsas*, »holy objects», the religious objects a lama may carry about with him, as vajra, bell, etc.

Most of these sets of objects are distinguishable in this picture.

The bull in the right hand section from Mount *Sumeru* indicates that the objects around him are those destined for *Yama*. Here a still greater variety of animals (No. 21) is presented. According to a popular legend, *Yama* should not have two, but only one skull bowl with water. It says that he, in his capacity of famulus to *Tsong-kha-pa*, was sent by his master into town on an errand. He returned very late. *Tsong-kha-pa*, angered by the delay, ordered that henceforth he should be deprived of the privilege of having his feet washed. This legend, which shows the inclination of popular imagination to play with the uncanny, representing it in a ludicrous role, may reflect an older rule according to which seven offerings were regularly given.

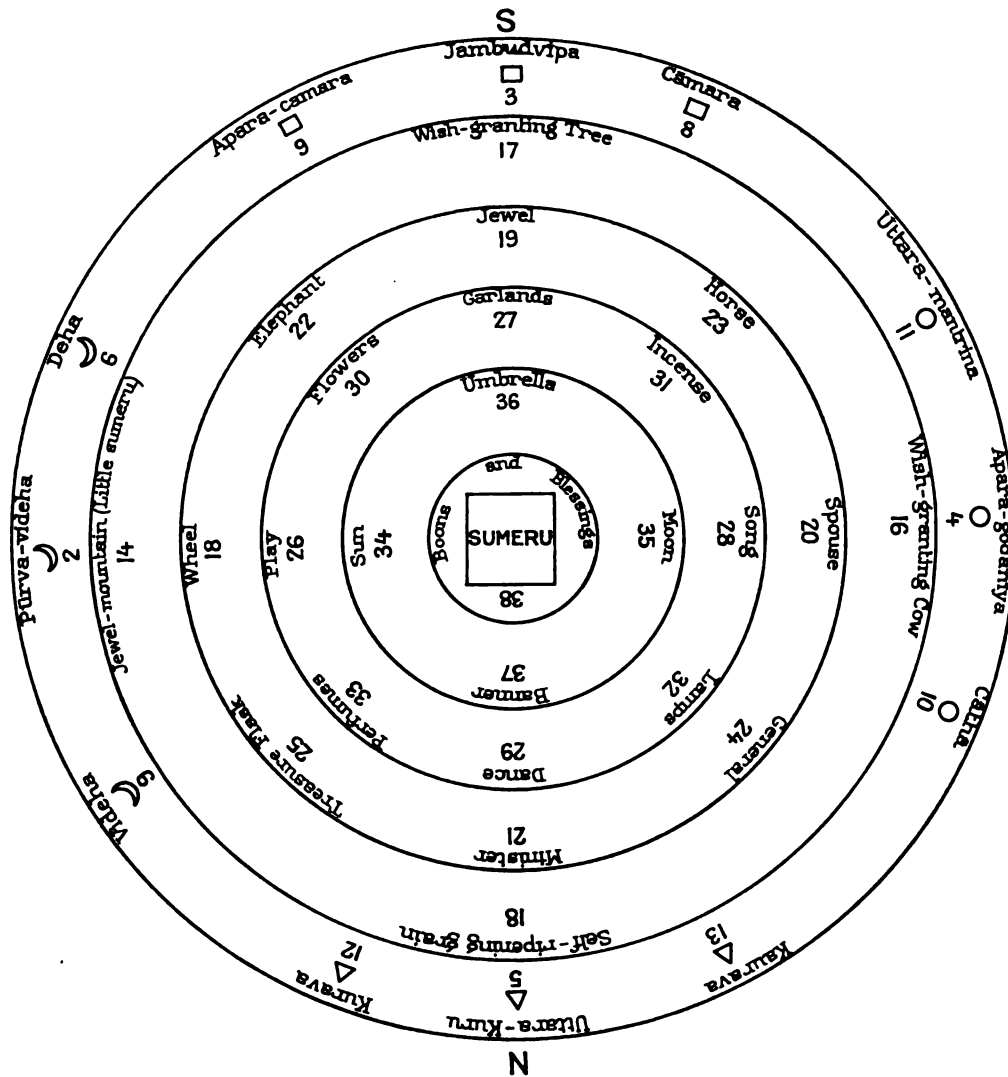
The animals are seen gnawing at human bones, devouring intestines, etc. A garland of freshly flayed human hides, the victims of the Terrible Deities, hangs down into the plan of the picture, as if suspended from somewhere in space, a ghastly warning to the wicked. The latter decoration is a Tantric counterpart of the Makaras or Garudas holding garlands of conventionalized clouds and strings of jewels in their beaks, as seen in analogous non-Tantric paintings.

The system of the universe as depicted in this *rgyan-tshogs* is symbolically recreated by the lama when he offers up the mandala, mentally dedicating the whole world to the deity. This ritual is part and parcel of many of the major services. It is regularly appended as a thanksgiving to the ceremony called the *Khrus-gsol*, performed for the preparation of consecrated water (No. 3 of the *Rab-gsal* used in the *Yung-ho-kung*).

For a comparison of the details of the painting under discussion with the description as given in this ritual, we insert a sketch representing the mandala disk with the names of the objects figuring in the sacrifice cf. p. 106.

Making the mandala oblation, the lama accumulates a small heap of grains or seeds mixed with little fragments of silver, sometimes gold, and precious stones (this mixture is called T. *mchod-rdsas*, «offering material», *supra*) on a metal disk. He proceeds in the order indicated by the figures in the sketch. The heaps represent the following objects as enumerated in the text:

1. Mount *Sumeru* (centre, No. 23 in reproduction of the painting B 11).
- 2—13. The Twelve «Continents» (sixth circle, see table of continents, *supra*).  
Thence he proceeds to the fifth circle:
14. The Precious Mountain or Small *Sumeru* (E).
15. The Tree Which Grants all Wishes (*kalpadruma*).
16. The Wish-granting Cow (*kāmadhenu*, W).
17. The Harvest Which Ripens by Itself (N).
- 18—25. In the fourth circle, beginning with the wheel in the East, he arranges the Eight Insignia (explained in Introduction and Hall III).

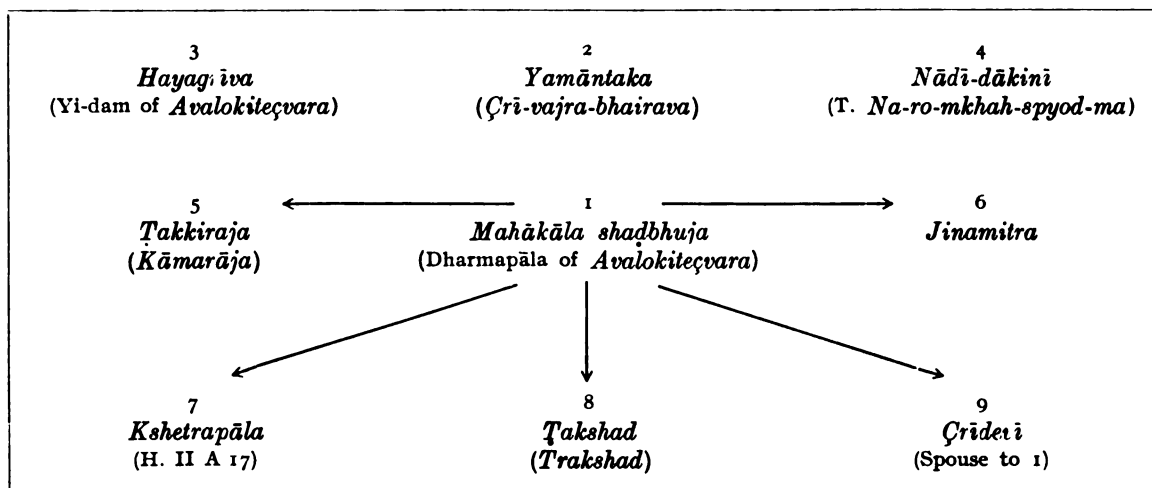


Sketch 4. Diagram of the Mandala Disk.

The third circle (No. 26—33) shows the Eight Sacrificing Goddesses (*devis*, also called *Tārās*, No. 22 in painting (for list see Hall II, Second Floor, mandala of *Samvara*, No. 21).

In the second circle we have the Sun (No. 34) in the east and the Moon (No. 35) in the west, the Precious Umbrella (No. 36) in the south, and the Ever-victorious Banner (No. 37) in the north. In the innermost circle the lama disposes of all the rest of the grains he holds in his hand; they symbolize all the blessings and boons for gods and men. Then he crowns Mount *Sumeru* in the centre with a small pagoda of metal (silver or gold, if available). This brings us back to our paintings.

B 12. Painting of Six-handed *Mahākāla* and Retainers (cf. Hall II A 14, A 15, B 9 and Hall VI)

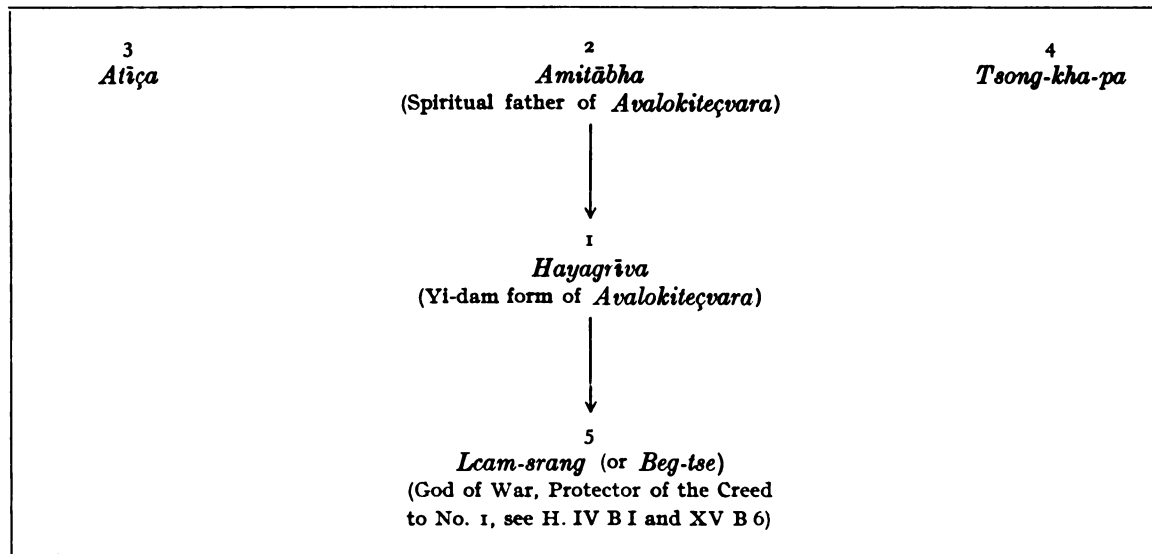


Nos. 5—8: Yaksha generals to No. 1.

Nos. 1 and 5—8: *Mahākāla* Pentad.

Nos. 1 and 7: yab-yum.

B 13. Painting of *Hayagrīva*, (cf. Hall II B 1, Hall XV A 23 and B 5)



B 14. Painting of *Ushnīsha-vijayā*, in a hundred repetitions. (see Hall X and XVI B 23 and 27).

B 15. Painting of *Amitāyus* (T. *Tshe-dpag-med*), »Immeasurable Light«, repeated a hundred times.





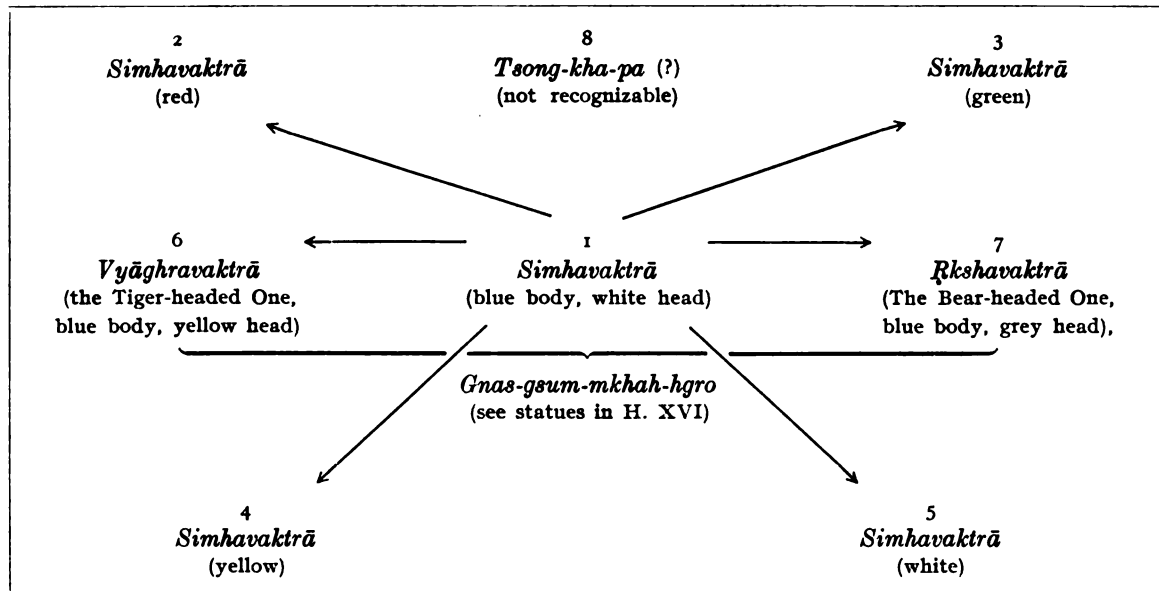
Fig. 15. *Simhavaktrā*

B 16. Portrait of a high lama, said by some to be *Tsong-kha-pa*(?). No attributes recognizable; judging from the paintings to his right and left, he may be one of the Panchen Lamas.

B 17. Painting of *Amitābha* (T. *Hod-dpag-med*), »Immeasurable Light», repeated a hundred times.

B 18. Painting of White *Tārā*, in many repetitions.

B 19. Painting: *Simhavaktrā* Pentad. *Simhavaktrā* or *Simhamukhā* (T. *Seng(-ge)-dong-ma*), the Lion-headed One, a *Dākinī* or Fiendess (see Hall XVI A 4 and B 39). The five manifestations are arranged in the following manner:



1, 6, and 7 constitute the triad called *Gnas-gsum-mkhah-hgro*, the Dakinis of the Three Places. They are the »Special Protectors» of the *Mtshan-nyid* (Hall XVI, where they are represented in statues and paintings). *Simhavaktrā* is usually depicted alone. The pentad has been suggested, as in other cases (e. g. *Yama* Hall II A 7) by the »five cardinal points» (centre plus NSEW) to symbolize her omnipresence. This resulted in extending her power over other categories based on the number five.



Fig. 16. Vyāghravaktrā



Fig. 17. Rkshavaktrā

The reason for this image being placed here is that *Simhavaktrā* is a common or general Dakini in a similar way as *Mahākāla* is a general Dharmapāla (see Hall II A 4), because in this hall a *bskang-gso* («banquet» ritual) is offered to her as to the other deities worshipped here. It also forms a pendant to the statues in Hall XVI.

B 20. Painting representing the Yi-dam *Yamāntaka* with retinue (*parivāra*).

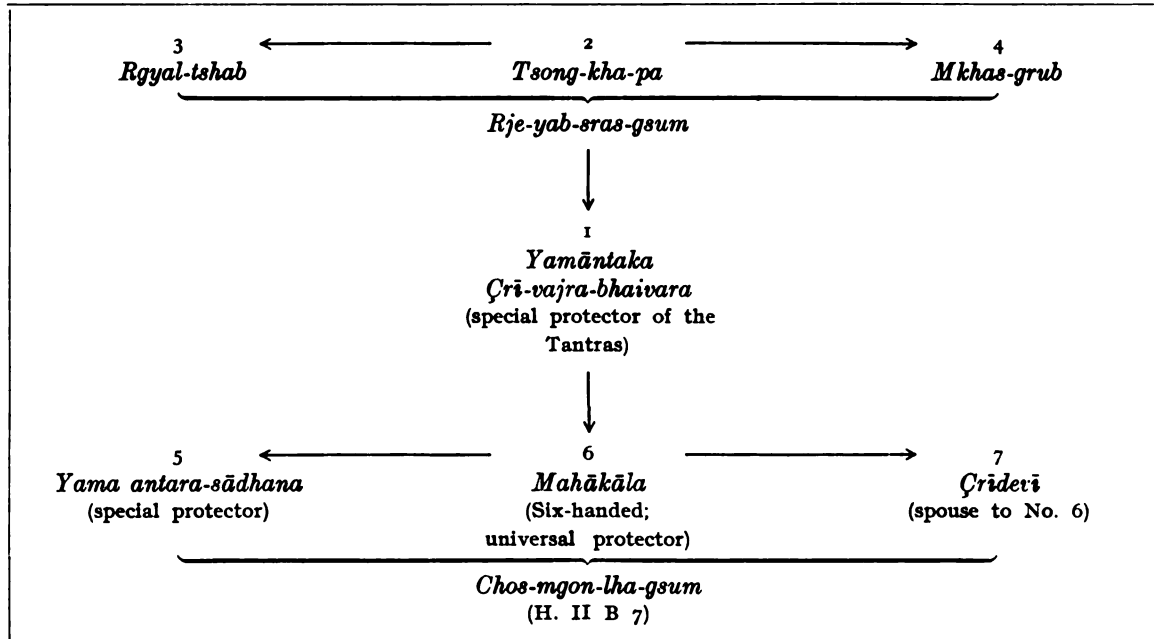




Fig. 18. Tsong-kha-pa Triad

(For the relation between these deities see Hall II 4 A).

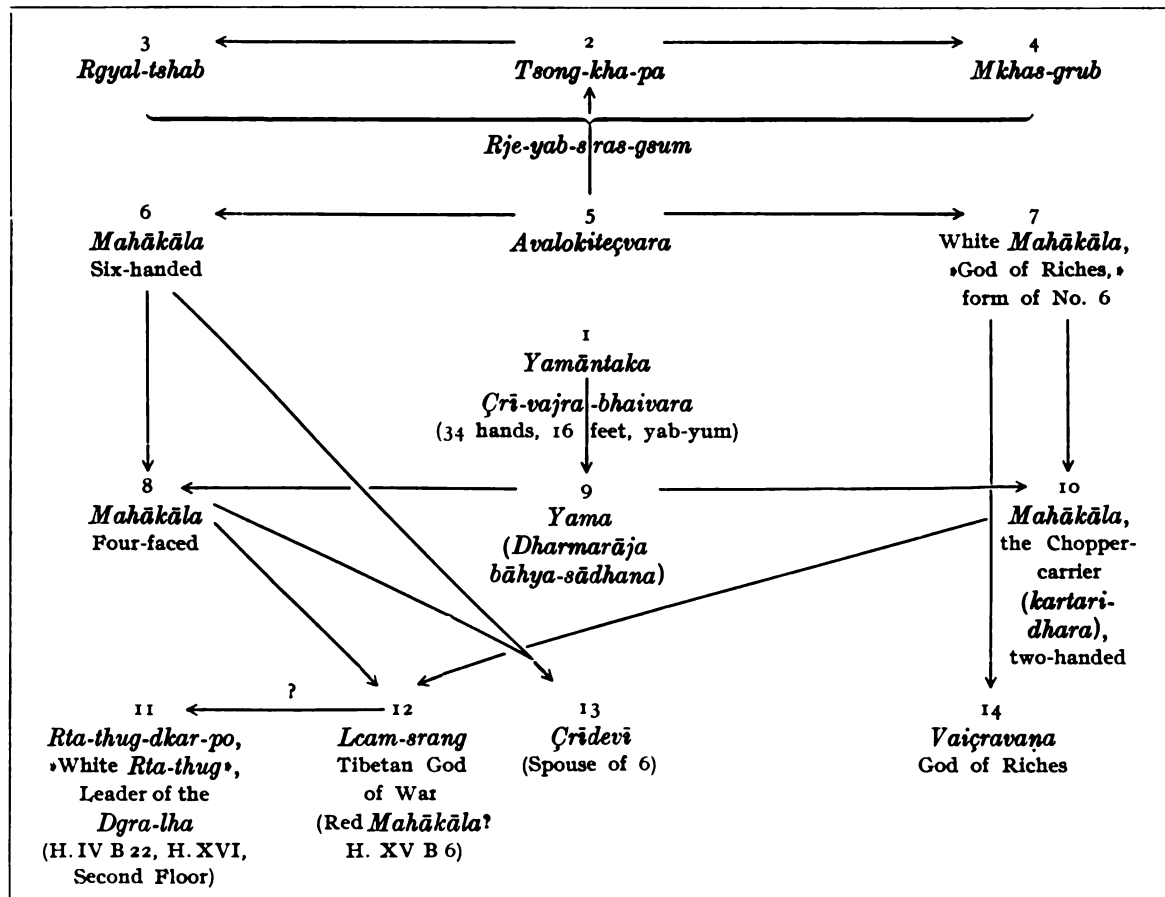
B 21. Painting of *Amitāyus* with miniature replicas of him in medallions (see Hall II B 15).

B 22. Excellent painting representing *Yamāntaka* with his retinue (*trayodaḥadeva?*).

Nos. 6—14 are combined in one painting, because they are worshipped in one combined *bskang-gso* ritual. *Supra*, B 20, and especially A 13.

B 23. Painting representing the twenty-one forms of the goddess *Tārā* according to the *kriyātantra* (T. *bya-rgyud*), together with some other deities not recognizable from below.

B 22.



Arrangement of manifestations of *Tārā* on this painting (the colours are those prescribed by the sadhanas):

$\begin{array}{c} 26 \quad 25 \quad 27 \\ \hline \textit{Tsong-kha-pa triad?} \end{array}$				
2 <i>Candrakānti</i> (?) white	3 <i>Kanaka-varṇa</i> gold	4 <i>Ushnīsha-vijayā</i> yellow		
5 <i>Hum-svara-nādinī</i> yellow	6 <i>Ārya-çyāma</i> green	7 <i>Trailokya-vijayā</i> red	8 <i>Vādi-pramardaka</i> black	
9 <i>Vaṣiṭottama-da</i> (?) yellow			10 <i>Khadira-vaṇī</i> green	
11 <i>Çoka-vinodana</i> red	I <i>Pravīra</i> red	12 <i>Vipān-nirbarhaṇa</i> black		
13 <i>Mangalotpādāna</i> yellow			14 <i>Paripācaka</i> red	
15 <i>Bhr̥kūṣi</i> black	16 <i>Mahāçānti</i> white	17 <i>Rāga-nistūdana</i> red	18 <i>Sukha-sādhana</i> yellow	19 <i>Prap̥hulla</i> or <i>Sankusumita</i> white
20 <i>Duḥkha-dahana</i> white	21 <i>Siddhi-sambhara</i> pink	22 ?	23 ?	24 ?

A brief morphology of the various *Tārās* will be given in Hall X.

#### B 24—26. *Vajradhara* Pantheon.

The Adibuddha *Vajradhara* (T. *Rdo-rje-hchang*, see Hall II A 4 c) presiding over a hundred Buddhas, his emanations. The conclave is protected by *Yama Dharma-rāja* (cf. Hall II A 4 e, A 12, and *passim*), the Special Protector of the Yellow Church.

The development of *Vajradhara*, both as a mythological personality and as an iconographical type, is, as that of many Lamaist deities, a very complex one (see Hall II A 6 b, morphology of *Guhya-samāja*). His Sanskrit name, translated into Tibetan as *Rdo-rje-hchang*, means »Thunderbolt-holder», »Thunderbolt-bearer». For his relation to *Vajrapāṇi* see Hall XV.

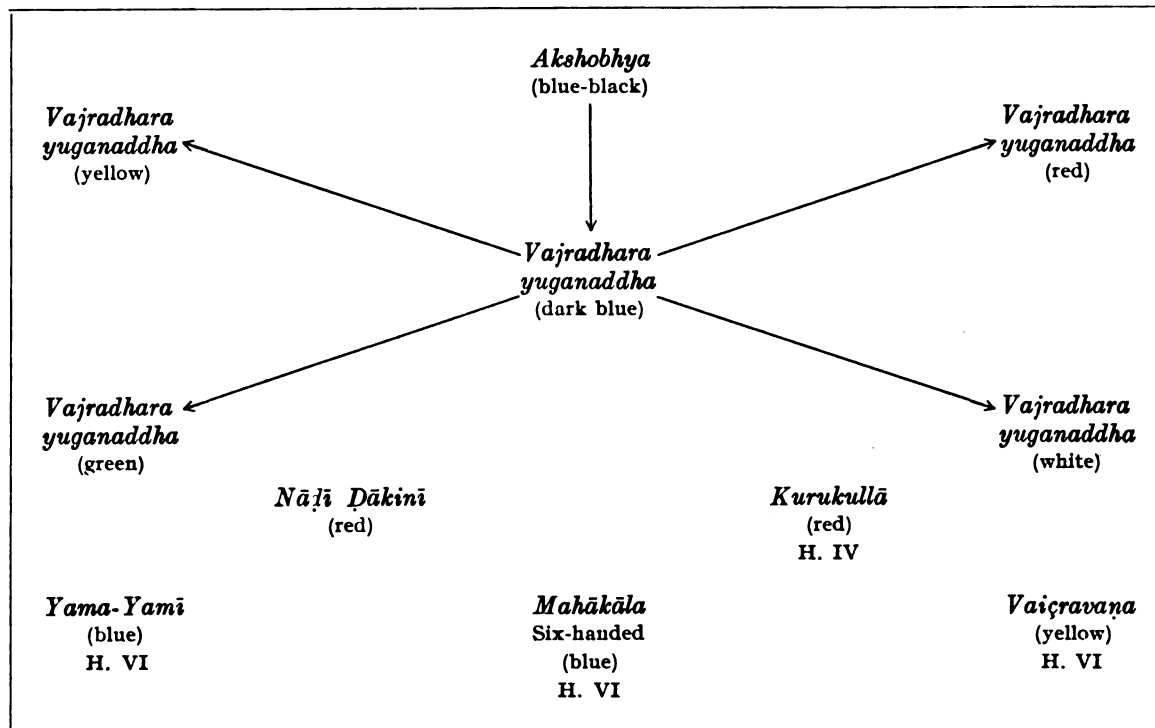
In the *Mahā-vairocana-sūtra*<sup>16</sup> which serves as a kind of bible to Sino-Japanese *Mantrayāna*, there occur nine *Vajradharas* under the leadership of *Vajrapāṇi*. They constitute the »virtues» (*guṇa*), that is to say, the palpable manifestations, of the Primordial Buddha *Mahā-vairocana*, who is the unnamable Absolute »personified». So the seventh represents his ego-free commiseration (*karuṇā*), the eighth, his energy (*vīrya*), the ninth, his magic power enabling him to convert those beings which are particularly difficult to convert.

With the old Lamaist sects, particularly with the *Bksh-rgyud-pa* school founded by *Mar-pa* (about 1080; he was the disciple of *Na-ro-pa* and the teacher of *Mi-la-ras-pa* who lived 1040—1124), *Vajradhara* is the chief leader (*ādiguru*) or revealer of Tantras, and as such he is recognized by the established church (*Dge-lugs-pa*) too.

As Giuseppe Tucci has stated in his *Indo-Tibetica*,<sup>17</sup> *Vajradhara* symbolizes a plane of experiences still higher than those of the five *Tathāgatas* (commonly, but not very aptly called *Dhyānibuddhas*), namely *Akskobhya*, *Vairocana*, *Ratnaketu*, *Amitābha* and *Amoghavajra*. He is the body, and they are his five *skandhas* or constituents. *Vajradhara* is that indiscriminate state of existence which illogically, not temporarily, precedes the processes of exteriorization or expansion (*prapañca*, T. *spros-pa*) by the five *Tathāgatas* into the five colours, five constituents (*skandha*, T. *phung-po*, Ch. *yün*, J. *un* 蘊), five elements, etc., forming the *garbha-dhātu*, »matrix sphere», the plane of contingencies. It follows that *Vajradhara* is identical with that indestructible »sphere of the diamond». The one-time menial of *Çākyaṃuni*, who at most was a mere godling, has become a real god, the highest god indeed; he is now *Mahā-vajradhara* (T. *Rdo-rje-hchang chen-po*). His development parallels that of the ideas symbolized by his attribute, the vajra: originally a thunderbolt, a concrete weapon to smite the demons, it became eventually the symbol of the inexpressible, indestructible, absolute. *Vajradhara's* mandala is the *Vajra-dhātu-maṇḍala*, that of *Guhyasamāja*, »Mysterious Assembly» (see Hall II A 4).

The colour of the god is blue, suggestive of *ākāśa*, ether, space, the absolute. He holds the vajra in his right, the bell in his left hand, crossed at the wrists on his breast, a gesture called *vajra-hūṃ-kāra*, expressive of »highest energy». It is the same gesture as that of *Guhyasamāja* (Hall II A 4 c and especially Hall II A 6 b). The vajra and the bell, originally mere ritual implements and iconographical marks, became more and more fraught with mystic symbolism and, as has been set forth, came to signify the same as *yuganaddha*, at least in later, esoteric interpretation, cf. Pl. XXIV, 2.

It seems that *Vajradhara* occurs only in two major types: single and as *yuganaddha*. Both show the mild Bodhisattva aspect. The complicated forms have different names, as has been shown in Hall II A 6 b.



An excellent painting belonging to the Sven Hedin Collection (H. 3044) may serve to illustrate the iconographical varieties of this deity (Pl. XXIV, 3).

B 27—29. Three paintings representing the White (27) Green (28) and White (29) *Tārā* (see also B 23). The three pictures are conspicuous both for size and for lack of beauty.

### INTERIOR. SECOND FLOOR

A small half-hidden door in the southern section of the east wall gives access to a narrow stairway with steep shallow steps leading to the second floor which is usually closed to visitors. In sharp contrast to the first floor with its motley of paintings, it houses, apart from a few ex-voto images, only three big statues in plain shrines. There are no accommodations for regular services, excepting the indispensable altar tables with their customary utensils and a stand for a mandala in the NW corner.

Sketch 5: Arrangement of Statues on Second Floor.

a: altar tables.

(The details in this sketch are out of scale.)

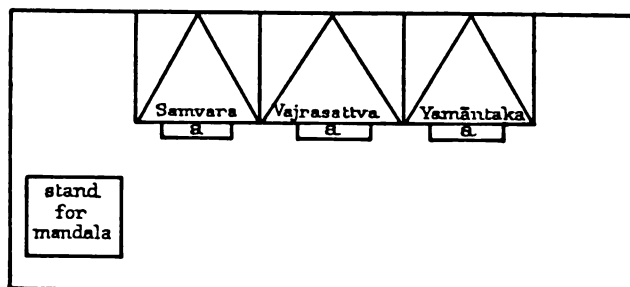




Fig. 19. Vajrasattva

The triad represented by these life-sized wooden statues is in essence the same as that forming the nucleus of the pentad in the shrine of the first floor (Hall II 4; cf. also Hall II B 24—26), as *Vajrasattva* and *Guhya-samāja* are but different manifestations of the same idea cf. Pl. XXV, I—2.

The statue of *Vajrasattva* is covered with dark gold-coloured lacquer. His type, dress, and ornaments are those of a Bodhisattva, and he is seated in the *sattva* posture. He is always represented with a crown, whether he is with *çakti* (»female energy») or not, and wears the ornaments of a Bodhisattva. Like *Guhya-samāja* and *Samvara*, he carries the thunderbolt, suggestive of his name, in his right hand, which he holds upright before

his breast, while his left carries the bell, near his hip. It will be remembered that in older *yuganaddha* groups the yum also rides on the hip of the yab. In paintings *Vajrasattva* is white, i. e. flesh-coloured. For general morphological ramifications of this type see Hall II A 6 b.

After *Vajrapāṇi-Vajradhara* had been elevated to the rank of a mediator between the Absolute personified and the phenomenal (see Hall II B 24—26), the necessity will have been felt to replace the contrast of the subject-object (*grāhya-grāhaka*) relation expressed in his name, which is incompatible with the idea of the absolute, by a term of identity. Such a term is *Vajrasattva*: »He Whose Essence is Vajra», an analogue to *Bodhisattva*. On the one hand he is considered as the active form of the Dhyānibuddha *Mahā-vairocana*, and the spiritual son of the Dhyānibuddha *Akshobhya*, with whom he has the »mount» (*vāhana*), namely the elephant, in common. On the other hand he is the Adibuddha himself, from whom the five Dhyānibuddhas (*Panca-tathāgata*) emanate. So he assumes their functions, presiding over the centre and the five cardinal points, the five elements, colours, constituents (*skandhas*), etc., like *Guhya-samāja*. The desire to become one with the absolute, in the parlance of the older schools expressed through the phrase: to enter Nirvana, is now expressed by the term: to become *Vajrasattva*. This, then, is the aim both of the layman and of the yogin or lama performing the rites prescribed by the *sadhanas*. The famous Dharani of a Hundred Syllables (*çatākshara*, T. *yig-brgya*) whispered in many of these rites opens with the invocation: *Om Vajrasattva samaya*.

With regard to the chief attributes of *Vajradhara-Vajrasattva*, the vajra and the bell, the following legend is told:

In a certain country a lama practised austerities in solitude for many, many years, and by doing so he attracted the notice of all the inhabitants and even of the king, who, however, hated religion. Once the queen found herself in the pangs of delayed parturition and all medical skill proved futile. The king, advised to call upon the saintly lama, sent his ministers to bring him to the court, but the lama refused to obey the royal summons. Even when the king deigned to go in person in order to invite him, the hermit did not condescend to accede to his entreaties. Moved, however, by the sufferings of the woman, he delivered her from the pangs of parturition by his magical powers (*ṛddhi* or *siddhi*) without even leaving his solitude. The grateful king, anxious to see the holy man at his court, went to invite him once more, with no better result than before. Offended by the lama's stern refusal to go with him, he promised a large reward to anyone who could induce the hermit to change his mind. Now a young girl — and this is a motif analogous to the famous *Ekaçṅga* legend<sup>18</sup> — undertook to make an attempt. But although she displayed all her charms, the lama remained as adamant as a vajra. At last she resorted to crying, telling the lama that she and her whole family would be exterminated if she failed to keep her promise. The lama, pitying her, said with a smile: »Come». He embraced her and in this posture they remained. A son and a daughter were born to them.

Meanwhile the king waited, more and more impatiently, for the arrival of the holy sage. Finally he proceeded in person, escorted by his courtiers, to the lonely wilderness, where the couple lived, and, seeing what had happened, he sneered at the dissolute lama. But the lama retorted: »Foolish king, what do you perceive with your fleshly eyes?» Then he took his two small children and hurled them to the ground. To the amazement of the onlookers the boy was transformed into a vajra, the girl into a bell, symbolizing method and wisdom, the way and the goal, which cooperate in inseparable union, like the wings of a flying bird, in order to promote all beings on their road to salvation.

At last the king realized the meaning that the lama and the girl, yab and yum, vajra and bell, method and wisdom, are but two different aspects of the same Mysterious One. Apart from the afore-mentioned moral of this legend, it is meant to inculcate the idea prevalent in Buddhism that the Buddha, Arhat, Lama, Yogin, cannot sin. What mortal eyes may visualize as debasing lust is really the acme of sublimation (*mahāsukha*, *sukhasaumanya*).

The above is the form in which the edifying legend was told to the writer by the verger (T. *dkon-gnyer*) in charge of this hall. It is in substance the same as No. 52 of the Stories of the Eighty-four Magicians, that of the Guru *Ghaṇṭā-*



*pāda*.<sup>19</sup> A somewhat similar story is found in *Tāranatha's Jewel-mine* (*Bkah-babs bdun-ldan*).<sup>20</sup> Grünwedel thinks that the transinterpretation of a famous image of *Avalokiteśvara* may constitute the background of this story.<sup>21</sup>

The images bearing the name of *Vajrasattva* belong to various classes of divinities. Clark, under A, 4 B 27, shows the picture of a statue of a »Buddha«, who is, however, clearly a Bodhisattva (the Chinese inscription on the bronze is responsible for the definition »Buddha«). He is without *çakti*, holding the vajra in front of the breast and the bell on his hip. The painting Clark, B 193, shows the same figure as a Bodhisattva. He should not be confounded with the Buddha *Uttamaçrī* (4 B 31), who carries the same attributes, with the only variation that the vajra is standing on the palm of the right hand. The bronze Clark, A 4 A 50, which again is inscribed as the Bodhisattva *Vajrasattva*, is almost identical with the first one, only slightly different in style and less elaborate as to ornaments.

The Yellow *Vajrasattva* (»Album of the Five Hundred Gods« Clark, C, 4 a) shows no essential discrepancies, except, of course, in colour.

The same album contains two woodcuts showing *Vajrasattva* in his usual Bodhisattva type, but with the third eye: seated, with the vajra standing on the palm of his right hand, and the bell resting on his left thigh. Both bear the name of *Vajra-vidāraṇa*, T. *Rdo-rje-rnam-hjoms*, »Thunderbolt-Tearing-Asunder«. But the one (73 a, cf. D 173) has the qualification T. *dkar-po*, white; the other (73 c) T. *ljang-sngon*, blue-black. There is a parallel manifestation of the demonic (*Vajrapāṇi*) type, which will be discussed under *Vajrapāṇi* (Hall XV). Suffice it to say here, that this is obviously *Vajrasattva* as inspirator of the famous dharani called *Vajra-vidāraṇā* which appears also as an independent goddess *Vajra-vidāraṇī*.<sup>22</sup>

*Go-chai Vajrasattva* (Clark, C, 18 b) and *Vajrasattva Samvara* show the close relation ship existing between *Samvara* and *Vajrasattva*.

The name and form of this type of *Vajrasattva* appears in a woodcut in Clark, C, R 6 c:

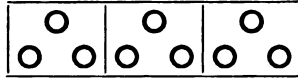
Name: *Çamvara* (or: *Samvara*) *Vajrasattva*.

T. *Bde-mchog Rdo-rje-sems-dpah*.

Type: Bodhisattva, slightly angry.

Yab: Ornaments and dress of Bodhisattva. Seated, feet locked, soles visible.

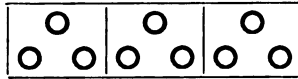
Faces:



	Right	Hands	Left
1	sword	raised	sword
2	vajra-	hūm-	kāra
3	hook	lowered	noose

Yum: Ornaments and dress of Bodhisattva.

Faces:



	Right	Hands	Left
1	embracing	neck	of yab
2	skull bowl	raised	skull bowl
3	hook	horizontal	noose

Dharani: *Om jvala jvala bhyo hūm hūm phaṭ svāhā.*

Reserving a description of *Yamāntaka* for Hall VI, a fuller discussion of the important Yi-dam *Samvara* may find place here (Pl. XXV, 1, 3—4).

Giuseppe Tucci has treated *Samvara* with wont competency and clearness in his *Indo-Tibetica*.<sup>23</sup> Further to what has been stated under Hall II A 4 b, a few remarks may be added here to circumscribe his place within the Tantric system.

The Sanskrit name of this divinity appears under various forms. According to Tucci we have to distinguish between *Çakra-çambara* and simply *Çambara*. But the aspects covered by them are fundamentally identical.

The names *Sambara*, *Sambhara*, *Samvara*, or *Çambara*, *Çambhara* (T. *Bde-mchog*), *Cakra-samvara* or *Cakra-çambara* (*Hkhor-lo-sdom-pa*), may reflect different attempts at Sanskritizing one or more Prakrit forms. The form *Çamvara* has been rendered by the Tibetans as *Bde-mchog*, which proves that they took *çam* to mean bliss, and *vara* to mean sublime, and interpreted both combined as synonymous with *mahāsukha*. *Cakra*, wheel, as it occurs in the above compounds, may stand for the ensemble of all the dharmas, or elements of consciousness

constituting the stream of phenomenal existence. But it may also mean the magical weapon in the shape of a wheel or disk (see Hall III and Introduction), which cuts the root of existence, the clinging to or craving for life. Lastly *cakra*, »wheel», may mean the four lower aspects of knowledge or gnosis, and *samvara* the fifth, the gnosis of the Absolute (*infra*, Key to Mandala of *Samvara*).

It may be easier to understand the ideas connected with the two components of the word *Cakra-samvara* by tabulating them as follows:<sup>24</sup>

Cakra	Samvara
1. All the dharmas or essences, as pluralities.	1. The One Essence which is at the basis of all of them.
2. The first four aspects of gnosis (knowledge, <i>jñāna</i> ).	2. The fifth aspect: gnosis of the absolute, also symbolized as a mirror, H. II, Interior, First Floor.
3. The four <i>Dākinīs</i> (divine potencies)	3. Heruka.
4. Four lower forms of mystic bliss.	4. Highest, innate ( <i>sahaja</i> ) bliss ( <i>mahā-sukha</i> ), feeling of co-substantiality with the absolute.
5. The four Tathāgatas (Akshobhya, Amitābha, Ratna-sambhava, Amogha-siddhi).	5. Vairocana, the Ādibuddha.

The iconographical cognizances of *Samvara* and his *çakti*, *Vajra-vārāhī*, will appear from the following table.

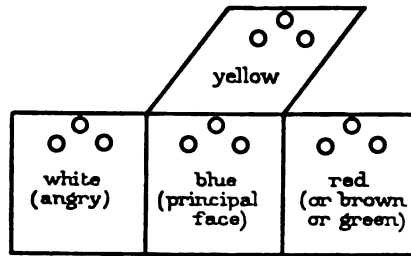
#### Yab

Type	Colour	Posture	Faces	Arms	Dress	Ornaments
Bodhisattva	dark blue	standing	<i>infra</i>	12	nude, elephant's skin, apron of tiger's skin	partly those of the Terrible Dharmapālas, partly of Bodhisattvas

#### Yum

Type	Colour	Posture	Faces	Arms	Dress	Ornaments
Female Bodhisattva	cherry-red	encircling yab	1 with 3 eyes	2	nude	skull crown; ornaments of Bodhisattva

### Scheme of faces of yab:



The next tables show the attributes, symbolism, and colour of the manifestation called *Çri-cakra-samvara* (T. *Dpal-hkhor-loi-sdom-pa*) according to the *Çricakra-sambhara Tantra*.<sup>25</sup>

Table A. Yab

	Distinctive marks:	Symbolizes:
1	Colour: blue.	<i>dharmadhātu-jñāna</i> .
2	three eyes.	all the three world-systems ( <i>trailokya</i> ) are under his vision; he knows the three times (past, present, future).
3	twelve hands.	he knows the twelve <i>nidānas</i> and the twelve <i>bhava-samkrānti</i> (T. <i>srid-pa-hpho-ba</i> , projections of consciousness, etc., into another form).
4	vajra and bell in both «original» hands.	his bodhicitta is both insubstantiality ( <i>çūnyatā</i> ) and compassion ( <i>karuṇā</i> ).
5	these same two hands embrace his spouse.	<i>upāya</i> (action) and <i>prajñā</i> (transcendental wisdom, contemplation), cf. yum, Table B, No. 11.
6	second two hands hold elephant's hide (T. <i>glang-lpags</i> ).	emblem of ignorance ( <i>avidyā</i> , the metaphysical root of existence).
7	third right hand holds skull drum ( <i>ḍamaru</i> ).	he proclaims joyous tidings ( <i>εὐαγγελιον</i> ).
8	fourth right hand, battle-axe ( <i>paraçu</i> ).	cuts off birth and death, root and trunk.
9	fifth right hand wields chopper ( <i>kartari</i> , T. <i>gri-gug</i> ).	severs pride, destroys the sins of the world-systems (cf. <i>infra</i> , Key to Mandala of Samvara, No. 2).
10	sixth right hand wields trident ( <i>triçūla</i> ).	
11	third left hand: magic wand ( <i>khaṭvāṅga</i> ).	he is endowed with supreme bliss.
12	fourth left hand: skull bowl filled with blood ( <i>kapāla</i> ).	he does away with all ideas of substance and non-substance.
13	fifth left hand: vajra-noose ( <i>pāça</i> ).	his knowledge holds the nature of sentient beings.

	Distinctive marks:	Symbolizes:
14	sixth left hand: the head of four-faced Brahma.	he has shaken off all Samsaric delusions ( <i>moha</i> , T. <i>gti-mug</i> ).
15	r. leg outstretched treads on the prostrate body of blue <i>Kālī</i> (T. <i>Dus-mtshan-ma</i> ), goddess of Time (s. No. 17).	out of compassion he continues to live in the world of sentient beings.
16	chopper and skull in the hand of this goddess (attributes vary).	the extreme view about Nirvana, i. e. the belief (to be avoided) that Nirvana is eternal passiveness, the sole eternal reality; cf. No. 18.
17	l. leg bent, treads on red Bhairava (T. <i>Hjigs-byedī</i> ) the Destroyer. No. 15 combined with No. 17 is the <i>ālīḍha</i> posture.	in his consciousness there is neither subject nor object (neither <i>pudgala</i> nor <i>dharma</i> ; cf. No. 26).
18	skull drum and chopper in the two right hands and magic wand and skull in the two left hands of Bhairava (s. No. 17).	the extreme view about Samsara, i. e., the belief in an external action, cf. No. 16.
19	hair tied in a knot adorned with <i>cintāmaṇi</i> (also explained as sun, at his right side).	all merits have been accumulated by him.
20	l. side of hair-knot adorned with a crescent.	his <i>bodhicitta</i> is constantly reaching higher stages.
21	crossed vajra on crown of head.	his acts benefit all sentient beings.
22	crown of five skulls on each of the heads.	he possesses five kinds of wisdom.
23	garland of fifty heads.	the fifty letters of the alphabet from which he has sprung have been purified.
24	frowning face, bare fangs.	<i>Māra</i> and all heresies are subdued.
25	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="margin-right: 10px;"> 1. ear-rings  2. neck-ornament  3. bracelets  4. girdle  5. wheel of bone on crown of his head  6. ashes from crematories and the sacrificial thread (<i>yaṅnopavīta</i>) </div> <div style="font-size: 3em; margin-right: 10px;">}</div> <div style="text-align: center;"> <i>śaṅ-</i>  <i>mudrā</i>. </div> </div>	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="margin-right: 10px;"> patience (<i>kṣhāma</i>)  charity (<i>dāna</i>)  discipline (<i>çīla</i>)  energy (<i>vīrya</i>)  meditation (<i>dhyāna</i>)  transcendental knowledge (<i>prajñā</i>) </div> <div style="font-size: 3em; margin-right: 10px;">}</div> <div> the six bone  ornaments symbolize  the six perfections  (<i>pāramitās</i>). </div> </div>
26	wearing tiger-skin loosely around his loins.	he has subdued Māra and overcome the contrast of <i>grāhya-grāhaka</i> , i. e. subject and object, mind and matter, ( <i>pudgala</i> and <i>dharma</i> , cf. No. 17).

Table B. Yum  
*Vajrā-vārāhī (Rdo-rje-phag-mo)*

	Distinctive marks:	symbolize:
1	one red face.	all dharmas (essences, elements) are 'of one taste' ( <i>ekarasa</i> ), i. e. dissolving all polarities, contrasts in reality ( <i>tattva</i> ).
2	two hands.	<i>saṃvṛttisatya</i> (phenomenal or empirical truth) and <i>paramārthasatya</i> (noumenal or gnosis truth).
3	l. hand embraces the yab, holds a skull bowl filled with blood.	she confers supreme bliss.
4	r. hand holds a chopper ( <i>kartarī</i> ) with vajra-mark and makes the menacing gesture ( <i>tarjanī-mudra</i> ).	her wisdom cuts all reasoning, destroys all fiends ( <i>Māras</i> ) and defilements ( <i>kleṣa</i> ).
5	loose hair (as with European witches).	she unties the knot which keeps all dharmas together so that they do not appear as what they are.
6	nudity (as with European witches).	freedom from the obscuration of the defilements of the mind ( <i>kleṣa</i> ).
7	three eyes.	cf. yab, No. 2.
8	crown of five human skulls.	cf. yab, No. 22.
9	garland of fifty skulls.	cf. yab, No. 23.
10	five bone ornaments ( <i>pancamudrā</i> , the ashes missing).	cf. yab, No. 25.
11	the two calves of the legs embracing yab.	she is inseparable from <i>upāya</i> , cf. yab, No. 5.
12	conjugal embrace.	unio mystica of phenomenal world, or method, action ( <i>upāya</i> ), compassion (male) with insubstantiality ( <i>śūnyatā</i> ), transcendental wisdom ( <i>prajñā</i> ), contemplation, tranquility, great bliss ( <i>mahāsukha</i> ).
13	fire-halo.	supreme wisdom consumes all exterior and interior obstacles.

For *Vajra-vārāhī* see Hall III, *Mārici*.

Comparing this table with the corresponding table of *Yamāntaka*, Hall XI, one easily sees that most of these symbolic interpretations are more than far-fetched, they are forced.

These very complex forms are indubitably of comparatively late origin. They are abstractions, embodying some concept, school or dogma, but their origin may be traced to some very concrete deity of merely local importance, in case of



Fig. 20. Samvara

the *yuga-naddha* (*yab-yum*) type to some fecundity symbol, for instance. Some *guru* (master, leader) or *mahāsiddha* (great sorcerer) may have encouraged or introduced the cult of such a godling with a view to eclipsing some other deity, perhaps because it was the exponent of an antagonistic or heretical school. Personal ambition and religious zeal will have worked hand in hand in this process.

In this connection No. 17 of the first table is worth noting: *Çri-cakra-samvara* treads on *Çri-vajra-bhairava*, i. e. *Yamāntaka*. That seems to indicate that the tantric system for which the wheel (*cakra*) stands as a symbol (compare the later *Kālacakra* system) has defeated the vajra system of which *Yamāntaka* is

the exponent. But the conquered never die. They are restored to life in due time to become amalgamated with the conqueror. That is how history repeats itself in Buddhism.

Though, from a mythological point of view, *Samvara* appears to be a more or less bloodless modern abstraction, his position in the Tantric system gave him an importance which reflects in his worship. The emperor *Ch'ien-lung* had a magnificent temple built for him in Jehol, his favourite summer resort. It is the famous *P'u-lo-ssū* 普樂寺 (see end of this article). A peculiar locomotive-shaped rock near this temple was pronounced sacred to this divinity.

Considering the importance of *Samvara*, the frequency of his images and the variety of his forms, it would appear advisable to give a brief account of his most frequent types. We begin with his simplest form, showing one head and two hands.

Clark, A, 3 M 4 reproduces a statue, *Sita-Çamvara-rāja*, designated in the Chinese inscription with the rather loose term *fo* 佛, »Buddha». This statue is in all essentials identical with the painting reproduced under Clark, B 37. The names given there are: T. *Bde-mchog dkar-po*, M. *Caghan Cakra-sambhara* (*sic!*), Ma. *Shanggiyan Wesihun Sebjenggre Fucihi*, Ch. *Pai-shang-lo-wang-fo* 白上樂王佛. Type, dress, and ornaments are those of a Bodhisattva. He has only two eyes. His two hands, crossed behind the back of his *çakti*, do not hold the vajra and the bell, but two vessels resembling urns or reliquaries, each closed with a stopper in the shape of a jewel. His *çakti* holds two skull bowls in her raised hands.

The pair is seated in the manner of the Buddhas. The statue Clark, 3 A 34 is similar, but the god has a third eye.

The next figure we describe shows more tantric characteristics. It is a woodcut, Clark, C 78 b, called *Çamvara krodha-bhaya-nāçana* (T. *Bde-mchog khro-bo reg-tshig*), »Destroyer of Fear«. He has the third eye, the expression of his face is mild, but he wears, in part at least, the tantric ornaments. His body is nude. No elephant skin is visible. His left hand holds the trident surmounted by a wheel, his right hand a wheel, the *ālīḍha* posture. He stands on two bodies. His *çakti*, nude, raises a chopper in her right hand, her left hand embraces the yab, whom she encircles with both her legs.

Clark, C, R 7 b (wood-cut), simply qualified as *dvibhuja* (T. *phyag-gnyis-pa*, »two-handed») is in many respects similar to the preceding one, but he has the canonical *vajra-hūm-kāra* gesture, and the elephant skin.

The attributes of his *çakti* are both visible here:

Right	Hand	Left
chopper	raised	skull bowl.

There exists a yellow form, called *Pita-Cakra-samvara* (T. *Hkhor-lo-sdom-pa ser-po*) »Yellow-wheel Vow«, pictured in Clark, C, R 7 c (wood-cut), which is hardly different from the preceding one (except for the colour and perhaps the richer tantric ornaments), but it seems that his *çakti* carries a thunderbolt instead of a chopper in the right hand. He shows, then, the *vajra-hūm-kāra* gesture and wears the elephant skin.

The rather frequent *sahaja* form (woodcut, Clark, C, 18 a and painting B 39) shows likewise only a few discrepancies from the last two. Of the *çakti*'s two hands, only the right one raising the chopper is visible. Her left leg rests on one of the figures the yab is treading on.

Clark, B 39 gives the following names: *Çamvara Sahaja*, T. *Bde-mchog lhan-skyes*, M. *Khamtu-törüksen Cakra-sambhara*, Ma. *Banin-i banjinjiha Sebjengge Fucihi*, Ch. *Pên-shêng Shang-lo-wang-fo* 本生上樂王佛. The usual Chinese term for S. *sahaja* is *chü-sheng* 俱生. The expression *pên-sheng* has led to an obvious misinterpretation in Manchu.

It is significant, here (B 39) and elsewhere, how in the Chinese Lamaist paintings the obscenities of the Indo-Tibetan representations have been tempered.

The white (*sita*, T. *dkar-po*, woodcut C, 22 c) manifestation seems to differ from the preceding form only in its colour and in the absence of the elephant's skin. This form has the epithet *āyuh-sādhana* (T. *tshe-sgrub*).

These forms conclude the list of two-handed varieties that we have at our disposal.

The next higher number of arms occurring in *Samvara* representations is six, which makes him very similar to *Guhya-samāja*. This form, represented in a



woodcut Clark, C, R 6 c, and reproduced from a painting by Clark, B 38, is called in the latter place *Vajrasattva Çamvara*, T. *Bde-mchog Rdor-sems*, M. *Cakra-sambhara Vcir-saduwa*, Ma. *Wacir-baturu-gôningga Wesihun-sebjenggea Fucihi*, Ch. *Chin-kang-yung-shih Shang-lo-wang Fo* 金剛勇識上樂王佛. The god has three heads with two eyes each. He is seated in »easy posture«.

	Right	Hands	Left
1	sword	raised	sword
2	<i>vajra-hūm-kāra</i>	(painting leaves out attributes)	
3	sword or hook	lowered	noose

Yum  
(three heads)

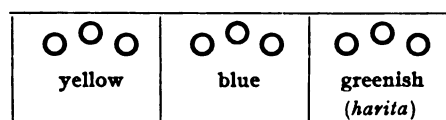
	Right	Hands	Left
1	skull bowl	raised	skull bowl
2	embracing neck	of	yab
3	noose	lowered	sword (or hook)

The *Sādhana-mālā*, No. 251 (Vol. II, pp. 490—495), describes a different manifestation of *Samvara* under the name of *Vajradāka*, with the epithet: *saptākshara*, »Seven Syllables«, namely the seven syllables *om hriḥ ha ha hūm hūm phaḥ* constituting his mantra. The text describes not only the god and his *çakti*, but also the six *Dākinis* forming their retinue. It may prove helpful in understanding the much more complicated mandala of *Samvara* described below, and for this reason we translate a passage bearing on our subject. It shows the connection of the Blue *Vajrasattva* to *Samvara*.

The *sadhana* begins by teaching the preliminaries to conjuring up the god, of which the preparation of the vajra ground (*vajrabhūmi*) by appropriate spells (mantra) is an essential part (p. 491). On this vajra ground a four-cornered many-storied palace (*kūṭāgāra*) is conceived to rise, and within the palace there is a six-spoked wheel, surrounded by an enclosure of vajras and lotus flowers. Inside of this, within a lotus-flower, both a sun-disk (*sūryya-maṇḍala*) sprung from the syllable *RAM* and, metamorphosed from the letters of the alphabet, a moon-sun-mandala (*candra-sūryya-maṇḍala*) should be meditated upon, and, standing

in the centre of its cavity, the blue syllable *HŪM* shaped like *Vajrasattva* should be imaged. All this metamorphoses into the *Bhagavān Vajradāka* whose essence is *HŪM*, who dwells in the highest bliss (*mahāsukha*), embracing *Vārāhī* according to the sacred instructions (*upadeśa*), whose self is the fivefold knowledge (*ādarśa*, etc.), who has six arms and three faces, each with three eyes, with the colours indicated in the diagram:

Faces:



The lord (*Vajradāka*) has the thirty-two major and the eighty minor distinguishing marks (of a Buddha). His arms with the attributes are disposed in this manner:

	Right	Hands	Left
1	human skin	raised	human skin
2	vajra	crossed behind back of yumbell	
3	trident	lowered	skull, with <i>khaṭvāṅga</i> leaning against shoulder

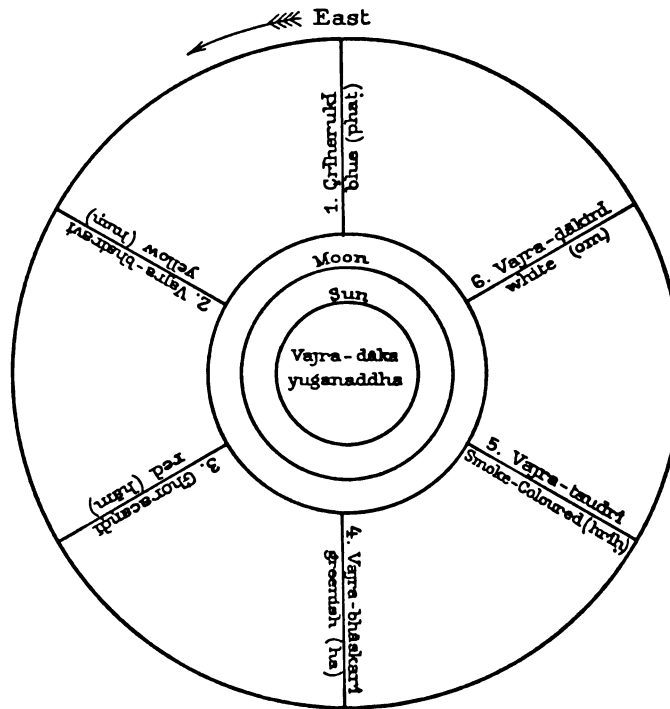
He is »blazing» with the ornaments consisting of garlands of human skulls, bedecked with the »six *mudrās*» (see Twelve-armed *Samvara*, Table of Attributes, A, No. 25), his hips are covered with a tiger skin, his chignon is decorated with the crossed vajra (*viṣvavajra*) and the crescent, and he stands in *ālīḍha* posture on the sun-disk placed on a filled lotus with his feet on *Bhairava*'s head, and on *Kālarātri*'s breast. His very nature is Samsara-Nirvana.

In colour and other respects *Vajra-vārāhī* resembles the lord (*Nātha*). She seems to be dropping the human skin she wears for a garment. Both her hands hold bow and arrow. She covers (encircles) both knees of the *Bhagavān* and displays a passionate desire for the highest bliss (*paramānanda*).

Then follows the enumeration of the goddesses occupying the six spokes of the wheel mentioned above. The details can be more conveniently shown in a diagram.

## Hall II

Sketch 6: Six-spoke Sun Wheel of Samvara. (cf. Sketch 7)



The text describes these six Dākinīs as having four hands and one face with three eyes. Two hands manipulate the skull drum and the bell, the two others are raised, holding human skins (above their shoulders). They look fiercely about; their hair is untied, they are nude, stand in the *ālīḍha* posture upon *pre-tas*, wear diadems of skulls, and have the «five mudras» as ornaments (see *Samvara*, table of attributes, B, No. 10).

Now the sadhaka, by dint of the rays issuing from the «heart-seed» (*hṛdbija*) of the god (*Bhagavān*) attracts the «gnostic wheel» (*jñānacakra*, «cycle of the absolute», *supra*, name of *Samvara*) sprung from the letter *JAḤ* and makes it permeate (*praveçayet*) the *samaya* wheel (*samaya*- or temporal or phenomenal cycle) «like water (entering) water» (*jale jalam iva*) (allegory of the identity of the phenomenal and the absolute). This is about all of the text that is of interest in this connection.

Returning to the forms of *Samvara* contained in the Tibetan pantheon we omit the enumeration of the attributes of a many-handed *Samvara* reproduced under B 36 in Clark's Two Pantheons, noting merely that he is the first in our classification who carries the *khaṭvāṅga*, as do all of the following ones.

The statue figuring as *Samvara-rāja* under 3 M5 in the same list shows the following scheme of the hands:

### Yab

	Right	Hands	Left
1	holding ends of	elephant	skin
2	trident with banner	raised	skull bowl
3	vajra-	hūm-	kāra
4	chopper	lowered	noose
5	jewel-bouquet ( <i>ratna-manjarī</i> ), slightly upwards		severed head of <i>Brahmā</i> (lowered)
6	thunderbolt-staff Another <i>khaṭvāṅga</i> is leaning on its left side	lowered	<i>khaṭvāṅga</i>

### Yum

	Right	Hands	Left
1	chopper (raised)		(skull bowl?) embracing

The (indistinct) woodcut C, R7a, simply designated as T. *Bde-mchog*, is similar, but the attributes are somewhat differently arranged.

Omitting all the other forms for which neither clear reproductions nor sadhana texts are available at present, we only give the interesting manifestation of *Samvara* with the *Garuḍa*, a combination, which has its analogies with *Vajrapāṇi* (Hall XV) and *Hayagrīva* (Hall XV). Its names are: *Garuḍa-Ṣamvara*, T. *Bde-mchog-mkah-lāding*, M. *Okhtarghui-ber khalikhci Cakra-sambhara*, Ma. *Garudi We-sihun Sebjengge Fucihi*, Ch. *Ta-p'eng Shang-lo-wang-fo* 大鵬上樂王佛. It is recognizable by the *garuḍa*'s head surmounting the three human faces of *Samvara*, (Clark, 3A46, bronze statue, C, 78 c, woodcut and B 40, miniature), and the *garuḍa*'s wings. Scheme of attributes according to C, 78:

### Yab

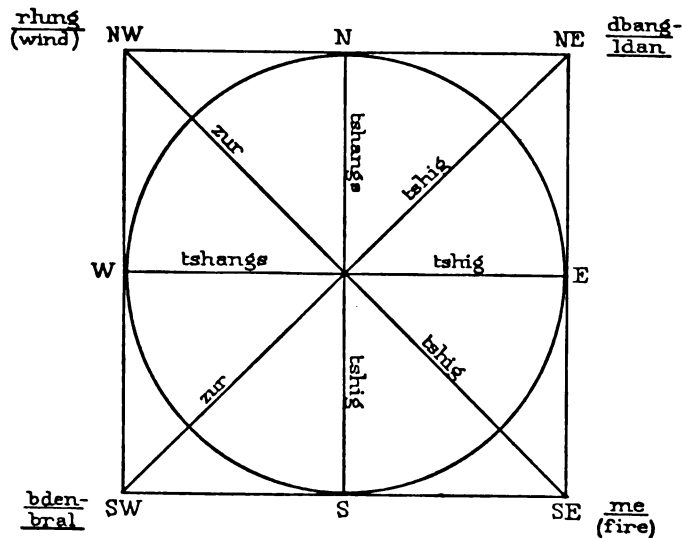
	Right	Hands	Left
1	elephant's skin	raised	elephant's skin
2	skull drum	raised	lance
3	vajra-	hūm-	kāra
4	hook	horizontal	<i>khaṭvāṅga</i>
5	axe	lowered	noose
6	chopper	lowered	head of <i>Brahmā</i>

Yum embraces yab with both arms, no attributes being visible.

(For combination of *Samvara* with *Vajrasattva*: *supra*, *Vajrasattva*, morphology).

At the north end of this room is the permanent place for a quadrangular wooden stand or platform (T. *stegs-bu*) of about 2 m. in length, with its base about  $\frac{1}{2}$  m above the floor. At its four corners there are poles attached to it, which carry the canopy-like ceiling, here called »heaven» (*infra*, and photograph of similar stand in Hall IV). This stand is used for designing mandalas. Mandalas are, so to speak, the ideal cities of the god. They illustrate those passages in the ritual texts which describe in detail a deity, its shape, colour, attributes, retinue, palace, etc. In such drawings the gods may be represented either by concrete figures (even statuettes occur, see Hall VII), or by their attributes only, or, lastly, by their »seed-spells» (basic letters, *bija-mantra*, T. *sa-bon*), from which they originate.

Concrete or visible mandalas are called T. *phyi*, »outer», »exterior». When designed in coloured powder they are called *rajomaṇḍala*, T. *rdul-tshon-gyi dkyil-hkhor*, dust-colour mandalas. On these each individual grain of dust represents a »Buddha». It takes many days, sometimes weeks, before an elaborate mandala is completed (Pl. XXVI, 2 and XXIX, 3—4).



Sketch 7: Diagram Showing Basic Lines of Mandala.  
(Eight-Spoked Wheel, cf. Sketch 6 and Pl. XXVI, 1).

The work is accompanied by various rites. Its first phase is the preparation of the stand. The »heaven» (T. *nam-mkhah*), i. e. a canopy, is hung up in the following manner. The dean (*ācārya*, T. *slob-dpon*, literally: professor) and the

chief supervisor of the work (T. *las-kyi rdo-rje*, \**karmavajra*), holding a vajra in their right and a bell in their left hands, seize a powdered cord and hold it against the »heaven» of the wooden stand. The dean tightens and releases (T. *hdebs*) the cord like a bow-spring so that it hits the »heaven». The line thus marked is one of the lines of »Fivefold Wisdom». In this manner they first make a vertical and a horizontal line intersecting at right angles in the centre of the heaven (T. *tshangs-thig*) and then, in a similar way, the diagonals (T. *zur-tshig*).

The centre where the eight lines meet is the »mark», (T. *thig-le*) or place where the Lord (T. *gtso-bo*), i. e. the chief deity of the mandala, and his retinue (*parivāra*, T. *hkhor*) take their seats, to inspect and bless the progress of the work.

The same procedure of marking a system of basic lines is applied to the platform (*stegs-bu*), before the actual drawing begins. This task is entrusted only to the hands of skilled draftsmen. They make the outlines by means of a transfer, as used in painting (see Introduction). The dean begins delineating the walls (T. *rtsig-pa*). The draftsmen proceed with the making of the picture of the lord or chief deity. If he has to face North, North is called East (T. *ṣar-phyogs*, lit. the side of the rising sun). If the stand is used for the mandala of one definite deity only, permanent outlines for the mandala are drawn in black on its platform. In applying the colours, a curious tool is used. It is a conical receptacle (M. *bukh*, *būke*?) made of copper and provided with a low ridge, suggesting the shape of a saw. This receptacle is filled with coloured powder, and held with the left hand at a slanting angle, with its tapering perforated end pointing downward over the spot where the colour is to be applied. The flow of powder is regulated by a small copper spade moved back and forth over the ridge with the right hand. Whenever the powder is required to pour out in a very thin flow, a minute mouth-piece with a smaller opening is attached to the container. The containers are of various lengths (cf. Pl. XXIX, 3).

This concrete work is regarded as the exteriorization of the mental process the lamas go through when reading the sadhana in the meantime. An excerpt from the sadhana of *Samvara* may serve to give a general impression of their visions.

»A mystic syllable transforms itself into a four-sided palace whose walls consist of a white, a yellow, a red, a green, and a bluish green layer. The walls are crowned with ornaments made of all kinds of jewels.

Inside the palace there is a circle of vajras symbolizing the indestructible element; on this circle eight pillars stand to serve as a support for four vajra beams. They form the basis for the jewel-decorated cupola. In the cupola there is a vajra gem which has the miraculous power of granting fulfilment of all wishes.

The East of the interior is white, the South yellow, the West red, the North green and the Centre blue.

A fourfold golden cornice runs above the border-tiles. On the outside of this cornice are »dolphins» (*makara*, a fabulous sea-monster), from whose mouths hang nets of pearls and yaks' tails as ornaments. The gutters and other parts of the roof are also decked with jewels. Above is a balustrade of lotus petals. Flags and banners fly from the summit.

In front of each gate we see eleven-storied gateways. On each is a »wheel of the Law» (*dharmacakra*) and two kneeling antelopes or gazelles. The vajra wall (enclosing the structure) is surrounded by a circle of fire, and the fire by eight cemeteries».

Then follows a detailed description of the lord and all the deities forming his conclave or retinue (*parivāra*).

We are reproducing here a modern drawing of the mandala of *Samvara* (a beautiful painting is seen in Hall XV B 12) which has the advantage of showing most of the details described in the *sadhana*, cf. p. 132.

#### Key to the Mandala of *Samvara* (cf. p. 133).

1. Innermost circle (»wheel», *cakra*): red calyx of lotus with *Samvara yuganaddha*, i. e. with his *çakti Vajra-yoginī*, i. e. *Vajra-vārāhī*.

2. Second circle, green, with choppers cutting »ignorance», the metaphysical root of existence. *Supra*, Table A, No. 9.

3. Third circle, blue, consisting (on crossings with the eight spokes) of single and (between spokes) of crossed vajras (these are marked by circles), to protect the inner palace. *Infra* No. 22.

4. Fourth circle, white, decorated with a golden scroll of lotus flowers and leaves.

5. Fifth circle, red, with »four times four», wheels of the Law, (*dharmacakra*).

Nos. 1—5 constitute the five wheels (*pancacakra*) or the fivefold wheel of deliverance (*panca-vimoksha-cakra*) (*supra*, *Samvara*, name).<sup>26</sup>

No. 6. Eight petals of a lotus, forming the wheel of the lotus of the Law.

These petals are decorated alternately with skull bowls (orientated against the intermediate cardinal points and containing the »inner offering» (*ādhyātmaka-pūjā*, T. *nang-mchod*), placed on holy water vessels alternating with *Dākinīs*.

The four *Dākinīs* here represented are:

Name	Colour	Cardinal point
Black <i>Dākinī</i>	white(!)	E
<i>Lāmā</i>	green	N
<i>Kaṇḍarohī</i>	red	W
<i>Rūpinī</i>	yellow	S

Each of them has one face, three eyes, grins angrily (*sa-krodha-hāsinī*), shows four fangs; their hair stands upright. Their hands hold:

- |               |                                       |
|---------------|---------------------------------------|
| (right)       | (left)                                |
| 1. chopper    | 1. skull bowl                         |
| 2. skull drum | 2. magic sceptre ( <i>khaṭvāṅga</i> ) |

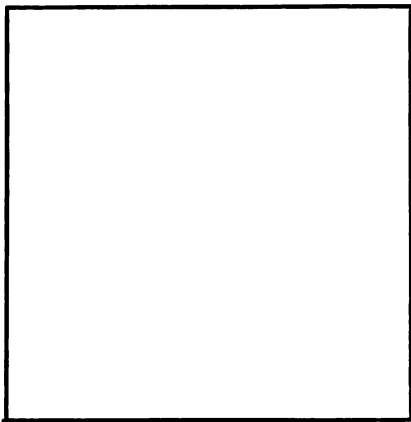
Their legs are apart, r. leg. stretched, l. leg bent, *ālīḍha* posture. Ornaments: skull diadem, garlands of fifty heads or skulls (often omitted in paintings).

No. 7. Spokes of the wheel, eight in number, adorned with twenty-four representations of *Samvara* with his *çakti*. R. h. skull drum, l. h. magic wand (*khaṭvāṅga*).

No. 8. *Samvara ekavira*, i. e. without *çakti*, with magic sceptre and skull drum.

No. 9. Four *Dākinis*, r. h. skull drum, l. h. magic wand; their animal heads are reminiscent of Egyptian deities. They represent a simplification, so to speak, of the usual type of female door-keepers (*dvārapālī*). Their sex in combination with their function remind us curiously of the *yavanīs* or *yavanikās* («Barbarian» women, who frequently functioned as body-guards to the Indian kings in antiquity).

The four *Dākinis* appear in the texts always in the same order, but their distribution over the four quarters seems in many cases arbitrary. They are personifications of their respective attributes, indicated by their names, to which the word *vajra* (*rdo-rje*) is usually prefixed. These names, in Sanskrit, Tibetan, and English as well as the shape of their heads, their vehicles and their color appear from the following table:

	<i>Vajrāṅkuṣī.</i> <i>Rdo-rje-lcāgs-kyu</i> «Vajra Hook», horse, white or black.	
<i>Vajraghāṇṭī.</i> <i>T. Rdo-rje-driḷ-bu</i> «Thunderbolt Bell», wolf, green.		<i>Vajrapāṇī.</i> <i>Rdo-rje-shags-pa</i> «Thunderbolt Noose», boar, yellow or black.
	<i>Vajrasphoṭī</i> or <i>Vajraçṅkhalā.</i> <i>Rdo-rje-lcags-sgrog,</i> «Thunderbolt Chain», lion, red.	



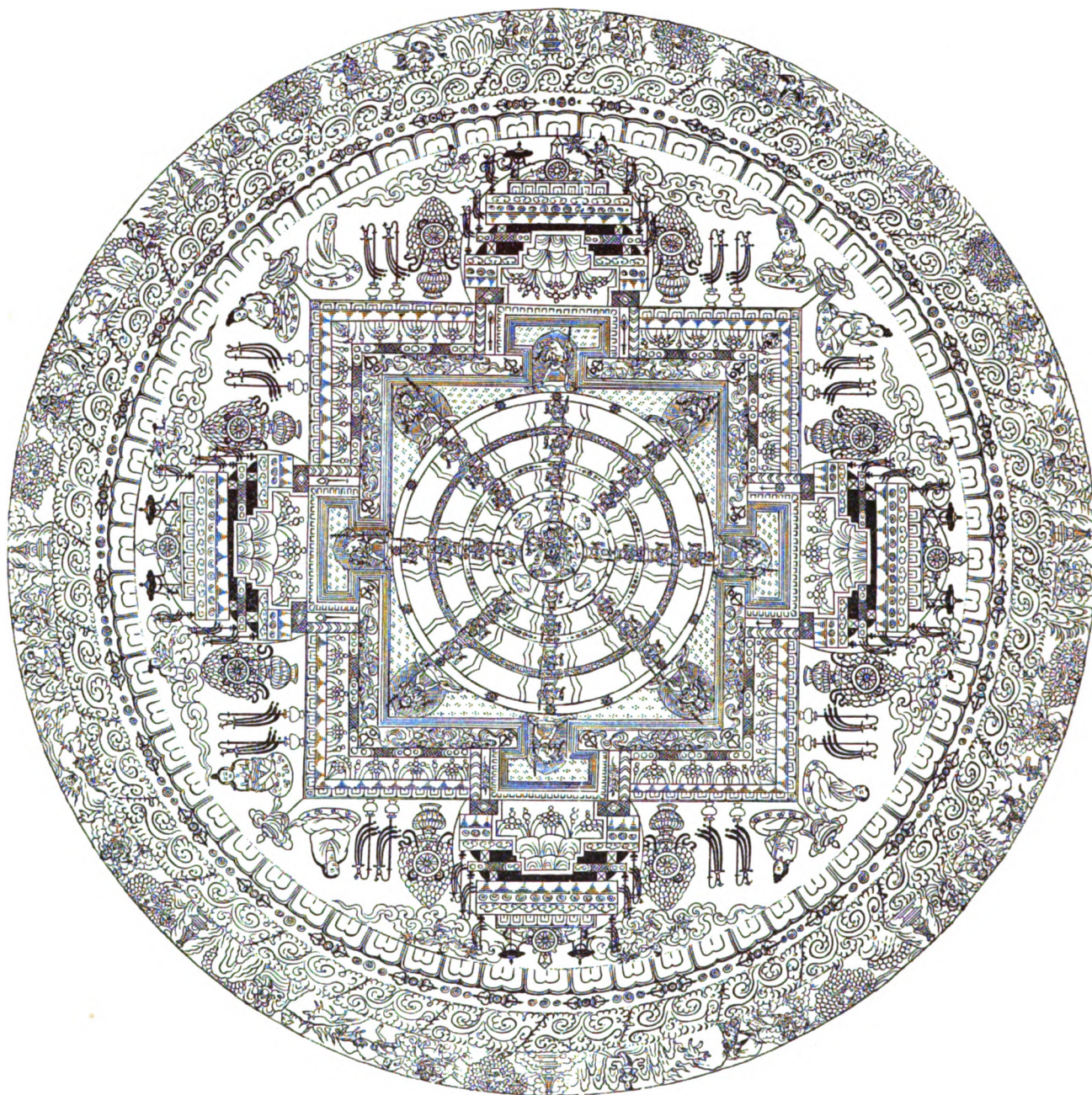
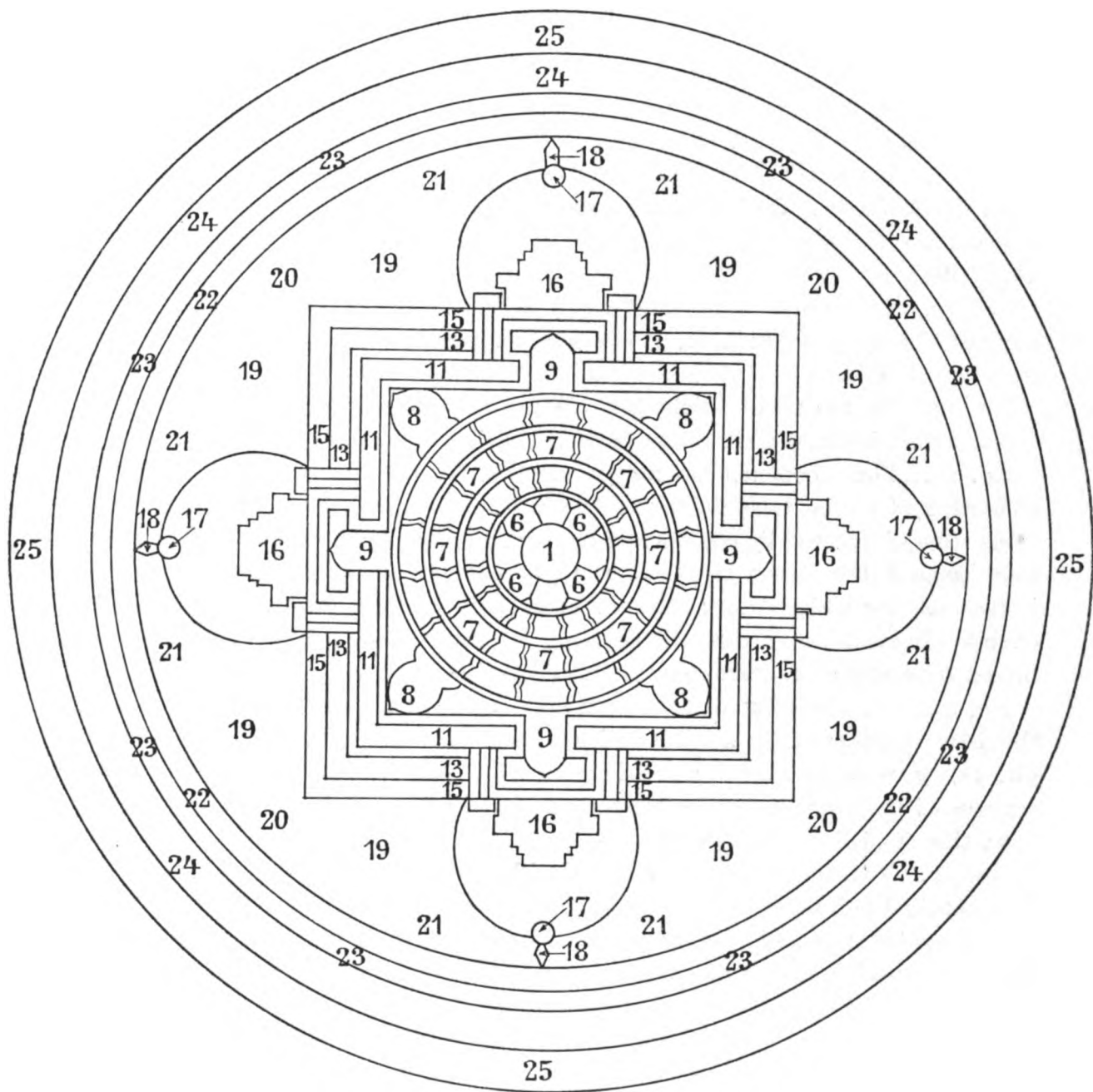


Fig. 21. Mandala of Samvara



Simplified Key to the Samvara Mandala as constructed in the Yung-Ho-Kung



They restrain, capture, fetter, and frighten all »hindrances» (*vighna*, T. *bgegs*), which, in the guise of demons, attempt to break into the abode of the god, or psychologically speaking, as sinful thoughts visit the mind of the *Sādhaka* while performing the rite.

No. 10. Wall of the inner square: section, consisting of five tiers of different kinds of jewels indicated by the colours: blue, green, red, white, black (texts say: white, yellow, red, green, blue-black).

No. 11. Thick red wall (front-view) with flying or dancing figures calling to mind Greek Erotes. In each of the four corners: chopper with skull bowl.

No. 12. Middle wall section, light red, with golden net and lozenge (sometimes circle) designs.

No. 13. Blue outer wall (front-view) with golden chains dangling from the mouths of gargoyles (*makaras*, T. *chu-srin*) supposed to decorate the crest of this wall, invisible here.

No. 14. Golden tiles on light blue ground, covering the wall (No. 13).

No. 15. Bisected white lotus petals, crenelation pattern for No. 13.

No. 16. Four entrance archways (*torāṇa*, T. *rta-babs*, Ch. *p'ai-lou* 牌樓), consisting of eleven tiers (including the lotus-crenelation), built of different precious stones indicated by colours and resting on pillars made of jewels. The eleven tiers suggest the eleven stories of the palace itself. The view into the interior is screened by white (texts: blue or green) silk curtains decorated with golden chains. In addition to this, the entrance is protected by a blue-black wall reinforced by a chain of alternately plain and crossed vajras.

No. 17. On the crest of each archway: in the centre the wheel of preaching the Law worshipped by a male and a female deer couchant (*mṛga*, T. *ri-dvags*, Ch. *lu*, 鹿 concurrently symbolizing *yin* and *yang* 陰陽), an allusion to the sermon of the Buddha in the Deer-park of Benares. Most temples in Mongolia have this symbol on their roofs.

No. 18. The three prongs of the double vajra (*viṣvavajra*), pointing to the four cardinal points, on which the whole mandala rests. Trees planted in golden pots (*kumbha*) supposed to stand on the flat (in spite of the tiles!) roof. They carry the eight auspicious insignia, namely: umbrella, fish, vase, lotus, conch, knot of good augury, banner (or canopy), wheel (see Hall III, altar).

No. 19. Eight pennons (*dhvaja*, T. *rgyal-mtshan*) and eight circular banners (*patākā*, T. *ba-dan*), standing in golden pots of the same type as the holy water vessel on the roof. Similar flags are found on the various roofs of the archways.

No. 20. At the four corners: parasols (*chattra*, T. *gdugs*) protecting half-nude ascetics (*digambara*) of the yogin type. They are characterized by their hair-knot (sometimes by their beards), their Brahmanic cord (*yajñopavīta*), and the tiger skin on which they are sitting, the thigh-bone trumpet (T. *rkang-ling*) they are blowing, also by their skull cups. On many mandalas definite individuals of

the group of the Eighty-four Great Magicians (*Mahāsiddhas*) are represented, but if attributes are lacking and the texts are reticent, as they are here, their identification is difficult, if not impossible.

No. 21. (Cf. Hall II B 11, No. 22 of key to the painting described there). In the clouds: sacrificing goddesses (*devī*, T. *lha-mo*). They are to be conceived hovering above the central deity. We either find eight fairies strewing flowers, or one offering flowers alternating with one offering jewels, or the eight damsels offering the so-called golden chain (T. *gser-hphreng*, S. *suvarṇa-mālā*?) offering, viz.

- |                         |                      |
|-------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. a canopy             | 5. flowers           |
| 2. a mirror             | 6. a pennon          |
| 3. a lute               | 7. an incense-burner |
| 4. a vessel with nectar | 8. a flute           |

Or we have, and that is very frequently the case, the eight *dēvīs* or *Tārās* making the following set of offerings (from which they derive their names, with or without the word *vajra* prefixed; numbers in parentheses in third column refer to chart of mandala disk, *supra*, B 11):

	Names	Offering	Colour	Attributes
1	<i>Lāsyā</i> , T. <i>Sgeg-ma</i> M. <i>Ūjūkürgekci eke</i>	play (26)	white	two vajras
2	<i>Mālā</i> , T. <i>Hpreng-ba-ma</i> M. <i>Erike eke</i>	garlands (27)	yellow	garland
3	<i>Gītā</i> , T. <i>Glu-ma</i> M. <i>Daghoci eke</i>	song (28)	red	lute
4	<i>Nṛtā</i> , T. <i>Gar-ma</i> M. <i>Bücigekci eke</i>	dance (29)	green	vajra, dancing
5	<i>Dhūpā</i> , T. <i>Spos-ma</i> or <i>Bdug-pa-ma</i> or <i>Bdug-spos-ma</i> M. <i>Küjiji eke</i>	incense (31)	white	incense-burner
6	<i>Pushpā</i> , T. <i>Me-tog-ma</i> M. <i>Cicek eke</i>	flowers (30)	yellow	flowers
7	<i>Alokā</i> , T. <i>Mar-me-ma</i> M. <i>Jolaḥi eke</i>	light (32)	light-red	lamp or torch
8	<i>Gandhā</i> , T. <i>Dri-chab-ma</i> M. <i>Ūnirci eke</i>	perfumes (33)	green	shell with scented water

There are variations in colour, either due to different tradition or arbitrary changes.

No. 22. Lotus with sixty-four (eight times eight) petals; the foundation of the palace. As stated above, the colours of the petals symbolize the four quar-

ters and the four intermediate points of the compass; these colours change seriatim, each series consisting of seven, eight or nine petals.

No. 23. Blue ring: enclosure fortified with plain and crossed thunderbolts (*T. rdo-rje-ra-ba*), cf. No. 3.

No. 24. Zone of flames protecting the mandala. According to the texts these flames should turn to the left (*T. g'yon skor-ba*), but painters frequently take liberties with the rules. Cf. direction in which *Samvara's* six-spoked wheel turns, *supra*.

No. 25. The zone of the Eight Great Cemeteries (*ashta-çmaçāna*, *T. Dur-hkhrod-brgyad*). Tantric imagination, revelling in atrocities, pictures these cemeteries as follows:

Human beings with no heads, impaled on »branchless» trees, others transfixed by lances, others half burned, halves of skulls, severed thighs, grinning skeleton heads, whole skeletons and fragments of them, are the ghastly inventory of those eerie places. On the eight trees of the eight cemeteries there appear eight »Guardians of the Field» (*kshetrapāla*, *T. shing-skyong*, cf. Hall II A 17 and B 9), namely:

1. E	The Elephant-headed, white	} each with one head, r. h. offering cake ( <i>bali</i> ), l. h. skull bowl.
2. N	Human-headed, yellow	
3. W	»Dolphin»-headed, white ( <i>Makara</i> , <i>T. Chu-srin</i> , <i>supra</i> , <i>sadhana</i> )	
4. S	Buffalo-headed, black ( <i>infra</i> Table of Cemeteries 2)	
5. NE	= East	
6. SE	Ram-headed, red	
7. NW	Vampire- ( <i>Vetāla</i> <i>T. Ro-langs</i> ) headed, red	
8. SW	Stag-headed, green	

All of these divinities display fierce wrath. They possess »siddhi» (magic powers). Besides, each cemetery has a lake with a dragon (*Nāga*), with the upper part of the body resembling a human being, the lower a snake. All of the *Nāgas* are joining the palms of their hands in prayer (*anjali*). Clouds appear above them, all with individual names. Lightnings flash and rain falls from these clouds. Claps of thunder are heard.

There is a mountain in each of these cemeteries, with a white stupa on its summit. A yogin is seated near each stupa. On each cemetery the fire of transcendental knowledge (*prajñā*) is burning. Ravens, eagle-owls, golden eagles, wolves, falcons, bull-headed snakes, *Yakshas*, vampires (*Vetālas*), *Rākshasas* shouting »*kili, kili*», beings which possess magic powers (*siddhi*), creatures possessing knowledge, beings entirely devoted to the Buddha, nude persons with hair standing on end, adorned with the five *mudrās* (torque, bracelet, jewel, girdle, ashes), holding skull drums, skull bowls and magic wands (*khaṭvāngas*), wearing diadems of human skulls, laughing angrily, they are all there to frighten those who come to these cemeteries.<sup>27</sup>

No.	Cardinal	Name	Tree	Nāga	Mountain	Stupa	Name and Colour of Clouds	Protector
1	E.	<i>Candogra</i> , T. <i>Gtūm-drag</i> «Very violent»	<i>çirisha</i> , T. <i>a-ru-ra</i> , Acacia Sirissa or myrobalan	<i>Vāsuki</i> , yellow	<i>Sumeru</i>	<i>Sitavajra</i> , «White Thunderbolt»	<i>Garjita</i> , T. <i>Sgra-sgrog</i> , «Sounding», blue	<i>Indra</i> , T. <i>Dbang-po</i> . Yellow; r. h. thunderbolt, l. h. threatens; on elephant <i>Airavata</i> , T. <i>Sa-srung</i> .
2	S.	<i>Karanka-bhishana</i> , T. <i>Hjigs-sde</i>	<i>āmra</i> , T. <i>ba-ru-ra</i> , mango, or variety of myrobalan	<i>Padma</i> , white	<i>Malaya</i>	<i>Piçuna-vajra</i>	<i>Āvarttaka</i> , T. <i>Hkhrigs-pa</i> , yellow	<i>Yama</i> , T. <i>Gçin-rje</i> . Black. r. h. club, l. h. noose; on buffalo ( <i>supra</i> , list of Guardians of the field, No. 4).
3	W.	<i>Jvālākula</i> , T. <i>Hbar-ba</i> <i>hkhrigs-pai keng-rus</i>	<i>açoka</i> , T. <i>mya-ngan-med</i> , Jonesia <i>Açoka Roxb.</i>	<i>Karkoṭa</i> (-ka), T. <i>Stobs-kyi-rgyu</i> , green	<i>Kailāsa</i>	<i>Samjnā-vajra</i> , «Consciousness Thunderbolt»	<i>Ghora</i> , T. <i>Drag-po</i> , «Terrible», white	<i>Varuṇa</i> , T. <i>Chu-lha</i> . White; r. h. threatens, l. h. noose; on sea-monster ( <i>makara</i> ).
4	N.	<i>Gahvara</i> , T. <i>Tsang-tshing-can</i>	<i>acvattha</i> , <i>byan-chub-ljon-çing</i> , the Tree of Enlightenment, <i>Ficus religiosa</i>	<i>Takshaka</i> , T. <i>Hjog-po</i> , red	<i>Mandara</i>	<i>Cittavajra</i> , «Mind Thunderbolt»	<i>Ghurnita</i> , T. <i>Smugs-pa</i> , = <i>Ghana</i> , SE white	<i>Kubera</i> , T. <i>Lus-ngan</i> . Yellow; r. h. protection, l. h. club; on corpse.
5	SE.	<i>Lakshmi-vana</i> , T. <i>Dpal-gyinnags</i> , «Lakshmi's forest»	<i>karanja</i> , T. <i>ka-randa</i> , Pongamia glabra, or <i>Verbesina scandens</i>	<i>Mahāpadma</i> , T. <i>Pad-machen</i> (-po), «Great Lotus», white	<i>Çandhamādana</i> , «Perfume-intoxicated»	<i>Vāgvajra</i> , «Voice Thunderbolt»	<i>Ghana</i> , «Thicket», T. <i>Hkhyil</i> = <i>Ghurnita</i> ( <i>supra</i> ), white	<i>Rakta</i> (Red Fire), T. <i>Byin-za</i> = <i>Hutāçana</i> , «Consumer of Offerings», Red.
6	NE.	<i>Aṭṭahāsa</i> , T. <i>Ha-harpa</i> , «Aṭṭa» or «Ha-ha laughter»	<i>vaṭa</i> ( <i>nyagrodha</i> ), T. <i>idem</i> , Banyan	<i>Çunkhapāla</i> T. <i>Dung-skyong</i> , «Conch Protector», yellow	<i>Mahendra</i> , «Great Lord», «Great Indra»	<i>Kāyavajra</i> , «Body Thunderbolt»	<i>Caṇḍa</i> , T. <i>Gtūm-mo</i> «Fierce», multicolored	<i>Maheçvara</i> , T. <i>Dbang-phyug-chen-po</i> = = <i>Īçvara</i> , «Lord», R. h. trident, l. h. skull bowl, on bull.
7	SW.	<i>Ghorandhakara</i> , T. <i>Hjigs-pai mun-pa</i> , «Blind by Fear»	<i>laṭā-parkaṭi</i> or <i>udumbara</i> , T. <i>çing-udum-wa-ra</i> , <i>Ficus globerata</i>	<i>Ananta</i> , T. <i>Mthah-yas</i> «Endless», blue	<i>Hema</i>	<i>Ratnavajra</i> , «Jewel Thunderbolt»	<i>Puraṇa</i> , «Fullness», T. = No. 1, white-yellow	<i>Rākshasa</i> , T. <i>Srin-po bden-dral</i> = = <i>Nairṛti</i> . Black; r. h. threatens, l. h. human head.
8	NW.	<i>Kilikilārava</i> T. <i>Kili-kilarsgrog-pa</i> , «Kili-kili Shouter»	<i>pārthiva</i> ( <i>arjuna</i> ), T. <i>srid-sgrub</i> , <i>Terminalia Arjuna</i>	<i>Kulika</i> , T. <i>Rigs-ldan</i> , «Noble», variegated	<i>Çriparvata</i> , «Auspicious Mountain»	<i>Dharma-vajra</i> «Law Thunderbolt»	<i>Varshaṇa</i> , T. <i>Hbebs-pa</i> , «Raining», green	<i>Māruta</i> , God of Wind. White, Each hand holds standard; on antelope.

Temple grounds or individual temple halls are known to shelter more or less definite ensembles of deities, or, in other words, they constitute real mandalas which, however, are not always complete. Sometimes they even imitate mandalas in their architecture, for instance the famous mandala (*t'an-ch'êng* 壇城) in the *Hsü-kuang-ko* 旭光閣 of the *P'u-lo-ssü* 普樂寺 in *Jehol*.<sup>28</sup>

In this respect a comparison between the photograph of this temple building and the mandala described above will prove instructive.

## A P P E N D I X.      F O U R    R I T E S

It may be recalled that the Tantra hall is the place destined for the regular, great rites in which a considerable number of lamas participate (T. *tshogs-chen*, M. *yeke khural*, »big assembly«). A book could well be written describing in detail these rites alone, with the ritual books translated, annotated, and illustrated by sketches, drawings, and photographs. For general information the reader is referred to the outline of this type of services contained in the Introduction. Some space will now be devoted to the analysis of three of the special services that take place in this hall.

### 1. CONJURING UP PROSPERITY

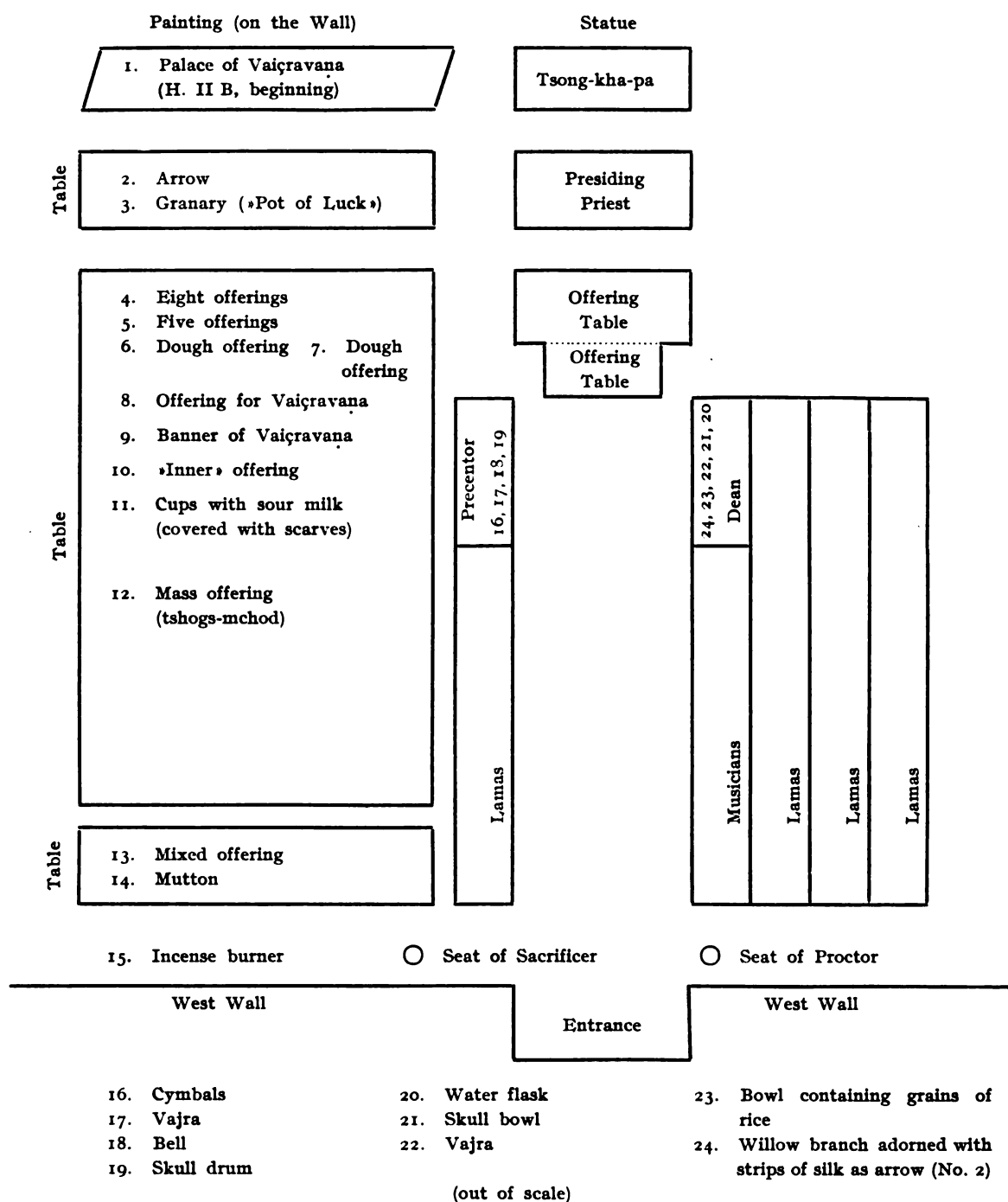
One of the most conspicuous services is the *g'yang-hgug* or rite of »Conjuring up Prosperity« (the Chinese call it, »Welcoming Treasures«, *ying-pao* 迎寶, or »Welcoming the God of Riches« *chieh ts'ai-shen* 接財神, or *chao ts'ai* 招財), mentioned in the description of the Magic Arrow (Hall II A 5).

This ceremony, performed in order to obtain such blessings as riches, longevity, high rank, and power, may be connected with any of the major divinities of wealth (T. *nor-lha*, Ch. *ts'ai-shên* 財神), especially with *Vaiçravaṇa*, *Jambhala*, and *Shang-blön*. In this hall the *g'yang-hgug* service is held for *Vaiçravaṇa*, the most powerful of them. According to the *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra*, he and the other *Loka-pālas* (see Hall I) have made a vow to relieve mankind from poverty (Hall VII). The Lamaist calendar of festivals gives fixed dates when this rite is considered to be particularly efficacious. The most favorable date is the second day of the fourth Chinese moon. However, upon payment of an adequate fee, laymen may have it performed any time, excepting, of course, on days considered inauspicious by the astrologers (lamas holding this office are called *gaṇaka*, T. *rtsis-ram-pa*, pron. *tseremba*, M. *toghaci*).

To make room for the enormous banquet offered to the god, the interior of the hall is rearranged, as indicated in the sketch (Pl. XXVII, 2).



# Sketch 8: Arrangement of Offerings at G'yang-hgug Ceremony.



A few notes are needed to explain the sketch, which will be better understood when compared with the photograph (Pl. XXVII).

### 1. The palace of *Vaiçravaṇa*.

The city of *Vaiçravaṇa*, situated on the north side of Mount *Sumeru* (see Hall II B 11), is surrounded by a triple wall. It is described as having archways and entrance gates on each side, leading to the nine palaces occupying its interior, the main entrance being, of course, on the south side (to the left of observer). The picture reminds us of the style of Chinese paradise paintings in which the buildings are Chinese palaces or temples. Among the palaces of the Four Heavenly Kings, that of *Vaiçravaṇa*, as the God of Wealth, is the most sumptuous, with its gardens, its wish-granting trees (*kalpavṛksha*, an analogue to our Christmas tree) and wish-granting cows (*kāma-duh*, or *kāma-dhenu*, cf. Hall II B 11, the *mandala*-offering). A comparison of the painting with the textual description of the palace as contained in the *Rgyal-po-chen-po Rnam-thos-sras-la mchod-gtor hbul-bahi rim-pa dngos-grub-kyi bang-mdsod*, »Ritual of offering the *bali* (dough-offering) to the Great King *Vaiçravaṇa* (and) the treasure-house of *siddhis* (perfections)» is instructive.

»In front (of the *sādhaka*) there springs forth from the syllable BHRŪM out of the sphere of the Void, a precious unparalleled square abode with one gate and one archway on each side. In the centre of a court-yard rising in three terraces surrounded by eight several-storeyed buildings (*kuṭāgāra*, T. *khang-brtsegs*), there is a three-storeyed palace, adorned with a spire which is surmounted by a jewel (as pictured e. g. in painting H. 615 of the Sven Hedin collection). Nets and garlands of jewels are suspended on all sides. Crenelations and parapets (railings) adorn the walls. The building is embellished on each side with 2500 columns which consist of crystal in the east, of ruby (*padmarāga*) in the west, of beryl in the south, and of gold in the north. Fifteen treasure-houses add to its beauty. Near its four sides and four corners there are placed eight blessed vessels (T. *bzang-po bum-pa*, *bhadra-kalaça*?), eight wish-granting trees (*kalpavṛksha*), eight jewel-trees, and eight fine fish-ponds surrounded by flowering gem-trees, and, moreover, eight wish-granting cows (*kāmadhenu*). The whole is surrounded by precious square gardens».

In reading these and similar descriptions contained in the many *sādhana*s one is reminded of St. John's vision of the new Jerusalem (Rev. Ch. 21: 9—27, and Ch. 22, 1—5), the plan of which can be traced back indirectly to a Babylonian archetype.

A few of the analogies between the description of the *sādhakas* and the vision of St. John may be pointed out here:

That great city, the holy Jerusalem, descends out of heaven from God (Rev. 21: 10): the city of *Vaiçravaṇa* develops in front (*ākāça-pradeçe*, T. *mdun-du*) of the *sādhaka* out of »the Void». The city lieth four-square (Rev. 21: 16), which is an ideal shape, for its regularity cannot be surpassed. It has twelve gates, three in each direction (21: 13). Gold and precious stones are the materials of which this city is built.

The similarities, it is true, are of a more general character, but they comprise important elements.<sup>28</sup>

2. The auspicious arrow (for picture see Hall III, painting of *Vaiṣṇavaṇa*).

The Tibetan name for this arrow is either *g'yang-mdah*, »arrow of good luck« or *mdah-dar*, »arrow silk«, from the strips of silk tied to its shaft. A Mongol name for this kind of arrow is *dalalgha*, connected with the verb *dalalkhu*, »to rotate, gyrate«, which refers to the way it is manipulated in the ritual performance.

This type of arrow plays a well-known role in Tibetan folklore. In wedding ceremonies, for instance, it is used by the matchmaker who hooks it into the collar of the bride, dragging her from her maiden companions. This is obviously a survival from the ancient marriage custom of capturing the bride (Raubehe).

The strips of silk attached to the arrow are conceived of as as many flags. They display the usual five colours, and symbolize the same abstractions as the five-coloured temple-banners explained above (see Hall II, Introduction). In addition they are said to suggest a special meditation, T. *mdsad-pai-ting-nge-hdsin*.

The arrow is referred to in Tibetan as *rtse-linga*, five-pointed, but in the specimens seen by the writer it was the butt-end that branched out into five points, indicating, in a general way, the four quarters and zenith, whereas the arrow-head is directed towards nadir. By this arrangement the arrow keeps in check all the demons that infest the world from any direction whatsoever, or, in other words, the magic power of the god represented by the arrow communicates through these points with the whole universe. A more scholastic interpretation, without wholly rejecting this Shamanistic view, prefers to see in the five points of the butt-end (T. *rtse-linga*) an allusion to the five departments (*pañcakula*, T. *rigs-linga*, M. *tabun aiymakh*, Ch. *wu-pu*, J. *go-bu* 五部) of the »Plane of the Absolute« (*vajradhātu*) and to the »fivefold wisdom«.

The feathering, for which on ornamental specimens displayed in the temples metal edges are substituted runs down the shaft on three sides. Taken as a symbol, it refers to the three departments of the *garbhadhātu* (world of phenomena). The mirror fastened to the shaft below the arrow-head represents to the eyes of the layman simply the heart of the god, his mind. The learned lamas explain it as the *bodhicitta*, the enlightened mind of the Buddha. If the arrow is used in a rite restricted to one god exclusively, *Vaiṣṇavaṇa* for instance, the seed-spell (*bija-mantra*) of that god (here VAI), from which he is ritually created, is written on that mirror. In other cases, the omnipotent syllable OM is inscribed on it instead. There are one or more cotton balls fastened to the shaft of the arrow, the original purpose of which the writer was unable to ascertain. It is perhaps not too bold to assume that they are traps for demons (*infra*, Kiosk of Threads). Scholastic symbolism maintains that they stand for *upāya* (expediency), while the arrow itself suggests *prajñā* (wisdom). Popular imagination, however, more inventive

than arid ratiocination, and regardless of the fact that its vagaries are not borne out by the objects themselves (see arrow of *Shang-blön*, Hall. IV, between 9 and 10), has ventured a more colourful explanation for these balls: they are simply toys for the lion, the mount of *Vaiçravaṇa*. In Buddhist folklore the lion produces cubs from a »ball of coloured threads«, or »embroidered ball« (cf. the marble and bronze lions in the entrance). So the whole instrument presents itself to the less sophisticated as the symbol of a god, the arrow-head representing his head, the shaft his body, the mirror his heart and soul, and the butt-end his limbs. Scholastic Buddhism seems inclined to tolerate any kind of symbolization, however crude, provided it leaves room for a more spiritualized interpretation.

Sometimes conch shells are tied to the arrows. They are blown thrice during the ceremony. According to one explanation they represent the voice of the god. Then we would find here the complete symbolry of the triad, expressive of the oneness of the absolute mysteriously phenomenolizing itself as body (arrow), speech (conch), and mind (mirror). Others insist that these conch shells are merely used to summon the god. If we accept this interpretation, the arrow and its accessories might be intended to symbolize a shaman, with the silken strips as part of his armour (which, as *hu-pei-ch'i* 護背旗 »back-protecting flags«, form part and parcel of the accoutrement of the Chinese stage general).

The lamas do not miss this chance of interpreting the arrow with its stand as another instance of the *linga-yoni* polarity, describing the arrow as male in relation to the stand, conceived of as female. The contradiction arising from the fact that the missile is spoken of as female in its relation to the cotton ball does not disturb their peace of mind.

3. M. »*Darilgena sang*«, probably *tariyan-u sang*, T. *hbru-mdsod*, granary, is evidently a container, wrapped in black and placed behind the large table (the writer was not permitted to inspect it). This object is needed to secure the coming of prosperity. It is said to contain drugs, grains and various hard fruits, as beans, the seven precious and eight auspicious things (Hall III and General Introduction), precious metals and stones, etc. (*mchod-rdas*).
7. This dough offering is a miniature palace offered to *Vaiçravaṇa*.
8. As might be expected the dough offering for *Vaiçravaṇa* is yellow and has the shape of the »flask of blessings« (*mangala-kalaça*), a sort of cornu-copia.
9. The banner or flag of *Vaiçravaṇa*. He shakes it to indicate to the worshipper that his prayer is granted.
12. Mass offering (T. *tshogs-mchod*) of cakes, sugar-candy, mixed fruit, mutton (on a copper dish), milk, and tea.

The solemn ritual opens with the usual elaborate preliminaries (T. *sta-gon*). The presiding priest, on very special occasions, that is to say if the »benefactor« (*dānapati*, T. *sbyin-bdag*, M. *öklige-iyn ejen*, Ch. *t'an-yüeh* 檀越 or *shih-chu* 施主)

has sacrificed a considerable amount of money or other property, the abbot himself, dressed in canonicals, with his right shoulder uncovered, is seated under the canopy in the chair in front of *Tsong-kha-pa's* statue. The precentor and the dean as the chief officiants occupy their seats on either side of the altar, facing each other. They form a triad with the presiding priest, a holy conclave within the great assembly. The lamas, summoned by the sound of the conch shells, assemble, dressed in their wide yellow cloaks and wearing their helmet-like yellow caps. Upon arriving at the entrance, they stop, taking off their caps. The proctor or the sacrificer, sometimes some other lama, offers them consecrated water to rinse their mouths, so as to become ritually pure. Then they touch the frame of the entrance door with their foreheads, in token of worship, step up to the middle of the altar table, join the palms of their hands in salutation, and go through the prescribed number of prostrations. Some of them may take out a few copper coins, deposit them on the table, kindle an incense-stick with one of the burning lamps, and light a few of the small butter lamps arrayed on a tray placed on the altar table. Then they turn their faces to their right and left, gyrating their incense stick and muttering the dharani *om āḥ hūm* which purifies body, speech and mind. By doing so, they give all deities of the universe a share in their offering. After this performance the lamas silently take their seats in the prescribed order. They assume the »Buddha posture«, folding their legs, adjusting their *çam thabs* or under-garment carefully so that no outline of the body is visible, and enter meditation.

All this time the sacrificer occupies himself with the altar table and the shrine, inspecting the offerings, dusting the sideboards, renewing the water, replacing the flowers (if fresh ones are available; in most cases paper flowers serve the purpose), and kindling the incense. After a brief interval, the hall is filled with clouds of perfumed smoke issuing from the various incense burners.

In the meantime, the »benefactors« (laymen) arrive. As this is a ceremony in which they take an active part, they have prepared themselves for the occasion. Each of them has brought a dozen or more sticks resembling arrows, and a piece of yellow cloth, preferably silk. They place the arrows in the stand that holds the arrow of *Vaiçravaṇa*. The cloth is his »pot of treasures« (T. *gter-bum*). Since this ceremony belongs to the category of the »increasing« (*paushtika*, T. *rgyas*, Ch. *tsêng*, J. *zō* 増), the colour is yellow, symbolizing both gold and *Vaiçravaṇa*.

The laymen approach the altar table, and, having made obeisance to the gods and the lamas, they deposit some »offering material« (T. *mchod-rdsas*), such as ingots of silver, copper cash, paper money and other valuables with the »mixed offerings« (No. 13 in sketch). Some have even had hollow silver ingots made and filled with the appropriate offerings. Thereupon the laymen, according to their rank and the amount of their contributions, take their seats with the lamas, a special honour accorded to them on this occasion. The proctor patrols the

temple hall, to prevent any breach of etiquette. This day, under the stern looks of the presiding lama, even the smallest novices refrain from playing pranks and practical jokes upon each other. All sit still, with their eyes intent upon the proctor, (T. *dge-skos*). Finally he steps in front of the altar table, puts on his high yellow cap, pulls his wide cloak around his shoulders, claps his hands twice to chase away the demons and to arouse the attention of the god, joins his palms in prayer, and then the precentor with his deep bass recalling some warm register of a pipeorgan gives the signal to begin chanting the sacred text. Like the waves of a lake the voices rise and fall, varying in rhythm and tempo, the deep droning of gray-haired men overlaid by the glittering descant of the young novices. The dean makes rotating motions with the sacred willow branch. The laymen watch the lengthy procedure in which they are not supposed to take an active part.

After about an hour, the chanting comes to a climax with the reading of the dharani conjuring up *Vaiṣṛavana*, and more particularly when the sacred words *g'yang-hgug* are spoken. Here the laymen who have learned the spell join in. All beseech the god to bestow his magic power (*adhishtāna*, T. *byin-rlabs*, Ch. *chia-ch'ih*, J. *kaji* 加持, or *chia-pei*, J. *kahi* 加持) upon them. The laymen and most of the lamas rise. The proctor throws his shoulder belt (M. *orkimci*) over his left shoulder and puts on his «felt helmet» (in his case called T. *sgro-brtsem*, while the ones worn by the lamas without definite office are termed *sgro-blog*; they look more fuzzy compared to the hats indicating higher ranks). Protecting his hand with a blue (the orthodox colour should be yellow, but blue was observed by the writer) scarf (T. *kha-btags*), and his chaplet against the strong powers emanating from the arrow, he removes it from the stand and, followed by two lamas dressed in a similar attire, he sets out on a solemn procession (Pl. XXVIII). He is followed by two lamas, the one carrying a tray with the «inner offering» and a portion of the «mass» offering covered with a ceremonial scarf, and the other holding a similar tray on which a cup of sour milk is placed. The manner they march suggests an isosceles, the proctors, being at its apex leads the way. A group of lamas, usually five, precede or follow them, blowing horns (in the picture shown here the procession is not so complete, the band being represented by two novices with conch shells). Most of the other lamas join the three leaders, the laymen benefactors closing up the procession. They shake their yellow wrappers, muttering the sacred incantation, while the dean within the hall continues his gyrations with the willow branch. Slowly, solemnly they proceed in front of the Hall of the Four Kings, where *Vaiṣṛavana*'s giant statue is housed (see Hall I). The central gate, the «Gate of Blessings» (*mangala-dvāra*) is opened and an inviting gesture is made to which the god is supposed to respond by joining the group invisibly. The procession continues its circumambulation of the temple halls, covering as much ground as possible (Pl. XXVIII, 2).

The *Fa-lun-tien* (Hall VII), being the centre of the *Yung-ho-kung*, witnesses the climax of this part of the rite, when it is performed in its entirety. The participants, lamas and laymen, take their positions in the court in front of the hall, and the chanting of hymns and reciting of dharanis continues for a considerable while. Often a choir of lamas performs a simultaneous, parallel service in this hall. The faithful outside can hear their droning voices reading the sutras, interrupted by the muttering of dharanis and accompanied by at least five priests blowing their horns, four belabouring their drums, and two beating the cymbals. At last one of the lamas appears at the threshold and, assisted by two acolytes, he recites a dharani to each of the participants.

After this interlude, the procession continues its way and finally returns to Hall II. They have absorbed all they can of the elixir or vital forces (*rasāyana*, T. *bcud-len*, M. *sime*, *shime*) of heaven and earth, sun and moon, rivers and lakes, trees and herbs. There is a strict rule that the processioners should re-enter the hall in the reverse order to which they left it. They accomplish this by backing it without turning their heads. If this rule should be broken, the blessings they wish to obtain would be forfeited immediately (Pl. XXVIII, 3).

While the congregation is standing, the usual concluding blessings (*mangala*, T. *bkra-çis*) are given. The dean casts grains in the direction of the covered treasure bowl in order to preserve some seed from which prosperity may grow during the next performance of the ceremony. Thereupon the chief »benefactor» steps up to the dean, who asks him:

»Did you bring back good luck?»

A. »Yes».

Q. »To whom did you pray for it?»

A. »To *Vaiçravaṇa*».

Thereupon the dean hands to him the covered vessel (3) with the words: »Now I hand to you *Vaiçravaṇa*'s treasure».

The worshipper receives it and returns it reverently to its place.

All participants receive some of the offering gifts as grain, coloured seeds, small pieces of precious metals and stones, coins, etc., which they wrap in their cloth to take home. These »auspicious objects» (*mangala-dravya*, T. *bkra-çis-rdsas*) are considered to have been consecrated by the worshipper's own merits which he has acquired in the performance of the ritual, by the power of the Buddhas and that of the *dharmadhātu*.

In conclusion the lamas distribute some of the food offerings (T. *tshogs-mchod*) among those present, who taste them, while the lamas collect the remainder (T. *lhag-ma*). Burning incense, they recite spells (dharanis) over it and finally take it outside and distribute it to all the beings of the three lower classes in the circle of transmigration: animals, hungry hosts, and those suffering in hell.

When the service is over, each devotee deposits some of the »auspicious objects» in the »bowl of treasures» on the altar table. This is another symbolic gesture intended to secure future prosperity.

## 2. THE ALMS-BEGGING RITE

*Gautama* imposed upon his disciples the obligation of not working for their material subsistence, but to live on what pious souls were willing to place in the alms bowls of mendicant friars during their daily begging rounds. Different times, social and climatic conditions were the cause that this rule, which was frequently considered humiliating, was more honoured in the breach than the observance. Here as in other cases, rites were substituted for disciplinary rules, and it is in Hall II that such a rite was performed. For this reason a brief description of the rite concerned should be given here although the writer has not had the opportunity of witnessing it. It is said to have been discontinued since the beginning of the new era (1912), so the following outline is based on secondhand information. When times were more favourable, some three hundred lamas are said to have taken part in it, cf. Pl. XXIX, 1.

At the beginning of the ceremony, which was celebrated in the fourth moon, the chief officiant, wearing his canonicals, asked the Buddha to bestow alms bowls upon the lamas. Having »received them mentally (*hsin-ling* 心領)», he blessed them with dharanis and distributed them among those present. Thereupon real alms bowls, made of copper, filled with water, were placed in front of the lamas. This was the signal for the pious benefactors to step up to the seats of the priests and put money into the bowls. The ceremonies which comprised the reciting of sacred texts, the offering of gifts, etc., lasted until noon, when the chief officiant and two or three of the officiating lamas rose and filled their alms bowls with uncooked millet; the others, imitating their example, took their bowls containing water and, filing through the eastern side gate circumambulated (*M. süme ergikhü*) the Hall of the Four Kings (*Lokapālas*, Hall I), in commemoration of the legend which relates that these godlings once had presented alms bowls to the Buddha.\*

Re-entering through the western side-gate, they proceeded to Hall VII (*Fa-lun-tien*), where they performed the circumambulation of the chief image. All the time they sprinkled water on their way, which was flanked by laymen worshippers. These vied with each other in bestowing alms on those participating in the procession. All the gifts, money, victuals, etc., were pooled and distributed by the presiding priest among the lamas present according to their rank. During this alms-begging round appropriate rites with recitations and offerings were performed in the Tantra Hall. The Chinese name for the ceremony is *t'o-po* 托鉢, »Carrying the Almsbowl on the Palm of the Hand», in the manner seen in many Buddhist images.



### 3. KIOSK OF THREADS

A more interesting rite may be briefly outlined here, although here again the writer had to resign himself to oral information only. This ceremony was formerly also performed in the beginning of the fourth Chinese moon in the same hall. It constitutes one instance of the application of those peculiar thread charms, called *mdos* in Tibetan, which are found in Tibet, Mongolia, the Himalaya mountains, and Indo-China. In the case under consideration, the rite was centered around Green *Tārā*, represented in the hall by a huge painting (Hall II B 28). Drums and cymbals are the chief musical instruments used in the ceremony. The chief officiant manipulates the thunderbolt (*vajra*) and the skull drum. On the offering table in front of him, besides the usual groups of offerings there is a »triangular *maṇḍala*» (i. e. a triangular stand, the *trikoṇa*), from which a feathered arrow decorated with a ceremonial scarf emerges. To this arrow is attached a »ghost or spirit», as my informants put it. His head consists of a skull, usually made of dough, his body is cut from red paper, with jagged edges resembling flames, as seen in representation of pretas, skeletons, etc. The paper tapers towards the head. The whole evidently represents a *zor* (literally: sickle), the formidable weapon against the demons.

From time to time, the officiant reads incantations over this symbol. On the smaller table in front of the large offering table (see E and F, Sketch No. 2) stands a small kiosk or pavilion in embroidery work resembling those used at Chinese funerals, where they are called *yīng-t'ing* 影亭. Here it is intended as a gift to Green *Tārā*, whose painting is placed on the same table.

But the chief object worthy of our attention is the two-storeyed »pavilion of threads» (T. *mdos*) in the court in front of this hall.

The slight frame-work of this pavilion is made of paper reinforced with thin, pared sticks: this frame-work is spun over and over with five-coloured threads. The forms of the *mdos* are manifold, the simplest being square or lozenge-shaped frames strung with threads. There are also masts made of pared sticks with small cross-pieces.

*Mdos* are explained as offerings to the gods, as marks of distinction given to prominent dead, or — and this seems to be the original function which applies here — as traps for the demons. The assumption that the original lozenge form was suggested by the cobweb (souls and spirits conceived of as flying insects are a folkloristic feature too familiar to need discussion) is very appealing. The eaves of this demon trap are hung with small cotton balls, whose real destination, the writer supposes, must be the same as that of the cotton balls on the *g'yang-mdah* (see Hall II, Appendix, 1, No. 2 in Sketch No. 8), i. e. to »absorb» the demons.

In the lower storey of this cage, the painting of a god on horseback, probably

*Sülde* (Halls IV and XVI) was placed. Outside, in front of it, there was a small copper dish and the figure of a dwarfish man, cut from paper.

Laymen who desired to participate in the ceremony were required to contribute one copper cent for each year they had lived. As long as the *Yung-ho-kung* flourished, the laymen participants numbered by the thousands, so the performance of this rite gave the lamas a handsome income. But the writer has been assured that it would no longer be a paying proposition.

In addition to the money, the faithful were expected to give up some underwear or other garment they had worn to have it burned. By doing so they hoped to induce the paper man to take away their sins. Here, at least, two ideas have intercrossed. The one is that by destroying something that has been defiled by contact with the body one becomes purified, at least ritually; the other is the idea of a substitute for the human sacrifice, the scapegoat (*T. glud*) idea in its extreme rarification, a paper figure taking the place of a living human being.

Long texts were chanted and numerous dharanis read as an introduction to the ceremony proper. Then, at noon, the skull of the *zor* was turned so as to face the entrance. A lama took the kiosk of threads, another followed with the *zor*, and the presiding priest and the chief officiant led the procession to the gates of the first hall. Accompanied by the sound of bells, cymbals, and the long tubes, the chief officiant read new incantations over the *zor*. Thereupon the chief priest was offered a copper dish containing water and a »red fruit» (*hung-kuo* 紅菓, *Crataegus*). He muttered a dharani, sprinkled water and threw the fruit on the ground. This was done four times, whereupon the music recommenced and the procession moved to the open field behind the neighbouring temple, *Po-lin-ssü*, where both the *zor* and the pavilion were set afire. Those who had sacrificed clothes, burned them in the same fire, hoping to »remove their obstacles» (to salvation, i. e. to atone for their sins) by this symbolical act.

In spite of the objections of the lamas and the faithful who do not want to see their sacrifices frustrated, and in spite of the curse attached to the misappropriation of these objects made inauspicious by the incantations, beggars and onlookers fought each other to snatch some half-burnt rags from the pyre.

These random notes may stand here until personal observation and the study of the ritual texts provide us with a better clue to the interpretation of this interesting ceremony.<sup>29</sup>

#### 4. HOMA

Leaving Hall II and turning north we mount an imposing platform (measuring  $25 \times 12$  m) over one of the two lateral flights of marble steps. From a substructure of white marble there rises an enclosure of yellow, blue, and green glazed bricks roofed with yellow glazed tiles (Pl. XIV, 2).

This beautiful terrace is the setting for the most solemn rite of *homa* or burnt offering (*homavidhi*, T. *sbyin-sreg-gi cho-ga*, Ch. *huo-t'an-i-kuei* 火壇儀軌), an outline of which may therefore be given here. We refrain from following the orthodox disposition or program observed in the performance of the ritual as laid down in the texts as that would lead us into too many details, but explain only those phases of the service which can be easily observed by the inexperienced visitor, reserving a more technical discussion for the translation of the ritual we hope to give later.

One would expect this rite to be transacted early in the morning, for fire is generally kindled at that time (whence its epithet *snga-dro-hbar*, 'blazing early'). As a matter of fact it is generally preceded by other lengthy ceremonies and therefore does not begin until ten or eleven o'clock, lasting for about two hours.

The complex symbolism underlying the elaborate fire or burnt offering known as *homa* will be discussed in the Introduction. May it suffice to repeat here where we are chiefly concerned with the visible procedure, not with the abstract ideas, that the fire is taken in the triple sense of the illuminating (T. *gsal-byed*) fire of wisdom (*prajñā*), the purifying (T. *gtsang-byed* or *dag-byed*) fire which consumes all 'sins' (*kṛeṣa*) and the destroying or rather 'omnivorous' (T. *sna-tshags-za*) fire that 'eats what it finds' (T. *rnyed-za*), even life (T. *srog-za*), and therefore is able to annihilate all obstructions blocking our path to salvation. These are conceived of as personifications which assume the shape of demons (*vighna*, T. *bgegs*). Visualized under a certain angle, the second and the third of these functions coincide: all our 'sufferings' are burnt by the sacrificial fire, which is therefore called *duḥkha-dahana*, T. *sdug-bsngal-bsregs*, the 'burner of sufferings' (there exists also a manifestation of *Tārā* distinguished by this epithet).

Colours and shapes (*rūpa*) being of paramount importance in symbolism, they are the first to engage our attention when witnessing the fire-offering. As stated before, considering their purpose, numerous rites, and especially the *homa* offerings, are divided into four categories (T. *hphrin-las bshi*, the 'four acts') outwardly distinguished by their colours and the shape of the fire altar built for their performance, as will be seen from the following table:



1. Seat of dean (*ācārya*, T. *slob-dpon*, chief officiant).
2. Wall protecting the dean.
3. Fire-place (*agnikunḍa*, T. *me-thab*): a cavity in a square consisting of  $4 \times 3$  bricks.
  - a. lamp;
  - b. dough offering for god of soil.
4. Altar table for dean with the following objects:
  - a. skull bowl with »inner offering»;
  - b. flask containing consecrated water;
  - c. »heavenly car» (*vimāna*, T. *shal-yas-khang*) of deity;
  - d. round ladle with long handle (*sruca* T. *dgang-gzar*) used to gather »ghee» from container (No. 5);
  - e. square ladle with spout (*sruva* T. *blug(s)-gzar*) to pour butter into the fire;
5. Pan containing ghee (see No. 6, 1), with scoop;
6. Offering tables (T. *mchog-lcog*, M. *takhil-un sirege*) on which copper plates are placed filled with the following offerings (we omit here most of the meticulous rules concerning the qualities required for these gifts):
  - a. »milk-wood» (*samidh*, T. *yam-çing*, Ch. *ju-mu* 乳木) symbolizing the Tree of Illumination; the sprigs should be of equal length, well-cut, unbroken, and both ends dipped in honey and butter. It is offered in order to obtain early illumination.
  - b. sesamum (*tila*, T. *til*);
  - c. *durba* grass (stems and roots should not be broken, it should be moistened with milk);
  - d. barley (T. *nas*, in the form of *tsam-ba*, barley »porridge»);
  - e. rice (T. *hbras*; pure, uncooked, unbroken grains);
  - f. milk with flour (*dadhi*, T. *sho-zan*, also called *zas-mchog* »exquisite food»; it is described as consisting of the three »well-tasting things»);
  - g. *kuça* grass;
  - h. mustard-seed (*sarshapa*, T. *yungs-dkar*, expels demons);
  - i. beans (*vartuli*, T. *sran-ma*);
  - j. barley (*yava*, T. *so-ba*);
  - k. wheat (*godhūma*, T. *gro*);
  - l. clarified butter (*ghṛta*, T. *shun-mar*, see No. 5 of sketch);
  - m. water for the face;
  - n. » » » feet;
  - o. flowers;
  - p. incense;
  - q. lamp;
  - r. perfumed water;
  - s. food (mostly represented by *balis* of varying shape according to deity worshipped).

seven of the eight »ho-  
mage offerings» (*upa-  
cāra*, T. *nyer-spyod*)

7. Seats for lamas (first choir, seat of precentor marked by x).
  8. Seats for lamas (second choir), cf. Pl. XXX.
  9. Table in front of second officiant, showing the following arrangement:
 

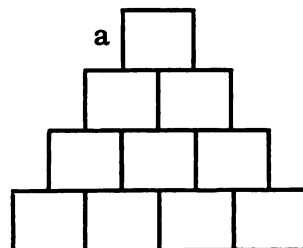
a. conch shells containing water;	}	see sketch 12
b. flask with consecrated water (T. <i>bum-pa</i> );		
c. small brass bowl containing rice.		
  10. Flagstaff with *dar-lcog*, see Introduction.
- 5 and 6 a, c. g. constitute the fuel (*indhana*, T. *bud-çing*) of the burnt offering. The whole process is, of course, symbolic of the Samsara-Nirvana idea with its various implications.

While the mental preparations seem to be essentially identical in most of the services, the material preparations differ to some extent according to the purposes tabulated above. We describe here in brief the preliminaries required for the first, the propitiating type of rites.

On the morning of the day destined for the performance of the sacrifice a fire altar is constructed at the western side of the terrace. It is conceived of as a mandala *in nuce*, and therefore also called mandala. An area measuring approximately two feet square is covered with a layer of earth, about five inches high and coloured either white, yellow, red or black in conformity with the category of rite. It is, therefore, white in the case under consideration.

In its centre there is a cavity for the fire. Space forbids to discuss in detail the variations prescribed for the construction of the altars of the different divinities. Behind this hearth, i. e. between it and the »throne» of the chief officiant whom we shall call »dean» for the sake of brevity, a wall of bricks is erected which rises in steps (see Pl. XXX, 1) to a height of approximately one metre (3 feet). Its colour also harmonizes with the character of the rite.

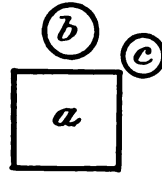
Sketch 10: Shape of Protecting Wall (corresponds to No. 2 in sketch 9)



a: small bowl with grains of rice.

The centre of this wall is marked by the character BAM, explained by our informants as the germ-syllable for fire. This stands in contradiction to the texts, which give RAM as the fire mantra. BAM stands rather for *bandha* and suggests *simā-bandhana*, T. *mtshams-bcad-pa*, Ch. *chieh-chieh*, J. *kek-kai* 結花,

»binding the boundaries», »consecrating the sanctum». Before the service commences, the sacrificer deposes branches of »milk-wood» as fuel on the hearth in a manner suggestive of the shape of the Sanskrit character BA. Thereupon he places a lamp made of dough and fed with clarified butter (for which sesamum oil is sometimes substituted) in front of the fire-place (see sketch 9, No. 3 a). The lamp in this position forms the »dot» above the BA suggested by the arrangement of the fuel, so that we have here a second BAM.



Sketch 11: Arrangement of Fuel and Lamp on Hearth  
a. fuel;    b. lamp;    c. bali for Lord of Soil.

In order to propitiate the *irritabile genus* of the Gods of the Earth or Lords of the Soil, the *Kshitipati* (T. *Sa-bdag*), a small, finger-shaped dough offering (*bali*) is set apart for them on the edge of the hearth behind the lamp.

The construction of the fire-place completed, some lamas enter the scene in order to arrange (T. *bsgrigs*) the offering gifts on the four tables marking the southern border of the sacred area (see Sketch 9, No. 6). The sacrificer (T. *mchod-dpon*) places the skull bowl for the »inner offering» and the flask with the consecrated water (*kalaça*) on the small low table (No. 4) at the right hand of the chief officiant.

During these preparations the other lamas, called disciples (T. *slob-ma*) in relation to the chief officiant, appear, most of them wearing their ordinary dark purple dress and their helmet-like yellow hats. They carry their liturgical books carefully wrapped in order to avoid soiling or damaging them. Books, being the word of the Buddha, should not be carried under the arm and never placed or held on a level lower than one's belt: this would be considered a gross irreverence or even as a punishable infringement of the rules laid down by the Buddha himself.

Sitting on cushions spread on the ground, they take off their hats and open the two bundles they have brought with them, one containing the books just mentioned, the other their canonicals. On their heads they put an elaborately manufactured chignon of silken threads (*ushnisha*, T. *gtsug-tor*). They tie a fringe band (T. *mig-dar*) over their foreheads. The fringe partly hides their eyes, thus symbolizing that they are unaware of their phenomenal environment while their spiritual eye is wide open. A five-lobed diadem made of pasteboard, sometimes of metal, displaying the Five Tathāgatas (Dhyānibuddhas) in their orthodox

colours, adorns their heads. From the lobes at both sides they suspend ornamental strips of embroidered silk, suggesting ear ornaments (*kunḍala*, T. *rna-rgyan*). Then they cover their shoulders with elaborate «amices» (*uttariya*, T. *stod-g'yogs*). This constituent of the lama's dress reminds us more or less of a part of a Chinese woman's apparel called *yün-chien* 雲肩, «cloud-tippet», after which the pattern of its outline resembles stylized clouds (*yün-t'ou* 雲頭). To the lama, however, the collar suggests a lotus-flower. A kind of apron (*nivasana*, T. *smad-g'yogs*, «nether integument»), spread over the knees, completes this peculiar outfit, which is called *dbang-rdsas* in Tibetan, meaning: dress for the consecration service (*dbang*, see Introduction). The whole outfit is intended to imitate the apparel typical of a Bodhisattva, so that the outward appearance of the lama now symbolizes the internal metamorphosis which he undergoes during the sacred rite and by which he becomes a Bodhisattva or even a Buddha — ritually at least. At the consecration (*abhisheka*, T. *dbang-bskur*) rite the lama dresses in the *dbang-rdsas* while service is in progress, not before, and the whole procedure is accompanied by the recital of appropriate dharanis consecrating each of the objects described.

As indicated in the first sketch, the seats of the lamas are grouped in two choirs, a larger one which faces the altar, (No. 7), and a smaller one, consisting generally of five or six lamas, which faces south and has its place under the verandah of Hall III (No. 8). After the lamas have occupied their places, the dean ascends his «throne». As soon as he is seated, he must observe the most exacting rules concerning his behaviour. He is now technically called a *ṛshi* (T. *drang-srong*), in observance of ancient Vedic rite. As such he concentrates strictly on the ceremony he conducts: he avoids turning his head, making any unnecessary movements with his body, and speaking, except of course when the ceremony requires it (Pl. XXXI).

Being seated, the lamas concentrate and meditate, continuing their spiritual preparation which they are supposed to have begun early that morning.

As a matter of fact, we have two distinct services combined into one. The first is the fire offering made to the God of Fire (*Agni*, T. *Me-lha*, M. *Ghal-un Ejen*), the second is a fire offering made to the deity whose intercession or blessings are sought.

The solemn rites open with consecrating the altar, the offerings, the officiating personnel, the sacred utensils and vestments. As a prelude to the service proper, here, as in all other major rites, the Four Lokapālas and the «Ten Protectors of the Worlds (*Daṣa-dik-pāla*)» are invited to partake of the offerings. After this they are beseeched to return to their respective regions to protect the Universe and particularly this service against intruding demons, which might visit the lama by way of sinful thoughts and desires.

Reciting the appropriate dharanis, the dean consecrates the altar with holy water. By doing so, he expels the demons. The same procedure is applied to



the offering gifts. Here he thrice recites the formula: *Om Kaṇḍarohi hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ*. The first time it is uttered the Dharmapālas (Protectors of the Law) appear; the second time they drive the demons to flight; the third time all the offerings and sacred utensils are purified.

The dean blesses the lamp with which the sacrificer sets the fuel afire. While this officiant pours clarified butter on the wood, the dean, holding the vajra in his right and the bell in his left hand, seizes a white »scarf» (T. *kha-btags*), and, tautening it, uses it like a fan (*dhavitra*, T. *rlung-gyab*), »wind-fan», in order to »call forth» the fire conceived of as the »friend of the wind» (T. *rlung-gi-grogs*). The lamas assist him in this function by repeating the dharani: *Om Kaṇḍarohi*, etc. All watch the flame intently: the manner in which it begins to burn is taken as a presage indicating the success of the ceremony (Pl. XXXI, 1).

The sacrificer scoops a ladleful of liquid butter from the pan (No. 5) and offers it to the dean. The dean, holding the vajra and the bell with his right and left hands respectively in the manner prescribed by the ritual, seizes the round ladle (4d) with his right hand, takes out some butter and transfuses it into the square ladle (4 e) with which he pours it into the flame. This he does seven times, reciting the dharani: *Om Vajrasattva āḥ*.<sup>1)</sup>

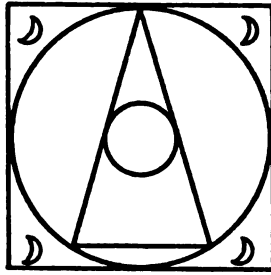
The lama's very essence is now *vajra*, indestructible (*vajrasattva*, see Hall II, Interior, Second Floor). He is, ritually speaking, identical with the absolute (*ahamkāra*, T. *nga-rgyal*) and both worthy and capable of »creating» the deity. But this state does not last throughout the rite, without repeating, at given intervals, the procedure required for it.

*Om Vajrasattva āḥ*. The lama enters the *bskyed-rim* or creative stage of the sadhana ritual. Threefold is the creation of the deity: the *bdag-bskyed* »self-creation», a metamorphosis of the lama's self into some simpler manifestation of the deity invited, the *mdun-bskyed* or creation of the deity with all its attributes and surrounded by its retinue, and the *bum-bskyed* or creation of the Five Tathāgatas in the *bum-pa* (flask of holy water).

The lama meditates and prays that there be *ṇyātā*, voidness, insubstantiality. Within this »sphere» (T. *ngang*) rises the magic syllable HŪṂ, white and large. As it slowly rotates before the lama's spiritual eye, he contemplates it — all this is recited by the two lama choirs — and it transfigures itself spontaneously into a white circular altar or hearth set in a square, the corners of which are filled with crescents.

On the hearth, which is »resplendent and untangible», there rises the white character RAM which is transformed into the triangle symbolic of the rising flame (*trikoṇa*, T. *me-gru-gsum*), with its apex pointing upward: the fire and its god is »rising» (T. *g'yen-hgro*). In it a disk or mandala of the moon is visioned.

<sup>1)</sup> Since the description of mental process concomitant of the creative rite is reserved for the Introduction, it is here merely briefly referred to.



Sketch 12. Showing the Successive Transformations of the Hearth.

From the syllable RAM which, «although metamorphosing, remains what it is», there originates a white lotus (referring to *Agni's* epithet *chui-skyes-gnas*: staying in a lotus) marked with this same syllable RAM, and from it rises, majestic and mild (*çānta*), *Agni*, the God of Fire, whom we know already as protector of the south-eastern quarter (*Agnikona* see Hall II, Appendix, table of cemeteries, No. 5; there he is called *Rakta*, «the Red One»). He has one divine face (T. *lha-shal*, may also mean: face of the gods), for he is One, and four hands, for his element, the fire, is ubiquitous in the four quarters. He has «a crest on his head» (the flame), and is therefore known as T. *gtsug-phud-can*: crested». He holds a white lotus (*abja-hasta*) and a rosary of white crystal (like *Avalokiteçvara's*), symbols of the Buddhist faith, in both his right hands, whereas his left hands carry pills (T. *ril-bu*) and a trumpet. Garbed in a robe of white silk, he is bedecked with jewels of many kinds, and his breast is adorned with a white triangle marked with RAM, his germ syllable. The sacred invitation formula is recited in Tibetan: *Om tshur sbyon, tshur sbyon, shi-bdag-lha*, «Om! Come, o come, Peaceful Lord and God». Powerful Element (*bhūta*, T. *hbyung-po*, means also «demon»), Divine *Rshi*, Highest *Brahma*, are some of the adulatory terms addressed to him. The invitation is repeated three times. Then, with the enigmatical words: *Om takki hūm*, an imaginary seat spread on *kuça* grass is offered to him at the south-east of the fireplace.

Throughout this recitation, which is accompanied by appropriate gestures, (*mudrā*, T. *phyag-rgya*), the dean performs the homage offerings concomitant with it: he takes some of the gifts which the sacrificer passes to him — the dean, as we know, is not supposed to leave his seat or change his solemn attitude for a moment — and throws them into the fire, which he keeps constantly burning by pouring butter on the fuel replenished by the sacrificer (Pl. XXXI, 2).

So «milk-wood» (T. *yam-çing*), symbolizing the Tree of Illumination, is offered to obtain enlightenment (dharani: *Om bodivṛkshaya*, O Bodhi Tree!), liquid butter (*ghṛta*, T. *mar-khu* or *shun-mar*), to burn all «sins» (dharani: *Om sarva-pāpa-dahana-vajra*, *Om* all-sin-burning thunderbolt), etc. An observer familiar with the ritual in general and able to understand the gestures can therefore follow the progress of the ceremony without understanding the text.

*Om āḥ hūm! Pravara-satkāra-prokshaṇam*: Receive the sprinkling of highest

homage! The lamas recite, making a gesture, and the dean removes the stopper, adorned with peacock's feathers, from the *kalaça* (T. *bum-pa*) and sprinkles water on the fire. Other gestures accompany the enumeration of the various gifts made to the God of Fire. We see the officiants hiding their thumbs in the palms of their hands, raising their right hands, palms turned outwards, and stretching out their left hands horizontally, palms turned upwards. This means *gandhe*, perfumed water. Eight »homage offerings» (*upacāra*, see sketch, No. 9, m-s) are enumerated (all in Sanskrit, as generally with dharanis). When pronouncing the sentence: *Om . . . naivedyam praticcha*: »Om, receive food», the lama imagines a *bali* or dough offering. He stretches both hands out in front of him, bending both indices. From time to time blessings are said, while grains of rice are thrown upwards. This action symbolizes flowers showered down from heaven, as often described in legends relating sermons or miracles of the Buddha or other saintly persons. Rice can symbolize various things, e. g. food for the wandering ghosts, etc. Then the »inner offering» is made in this way: By reading certain formulae and accompanying them with appropriate gestures, the lamas have »cooked» the contents of the skull bowl placed at the right hand side of the dean. Now it is »ready to serve». They stretch out the index and middle fingers of both hands, uttering forcibly (as if angry) the word *khaye khaye*, »eat, eat». The dean removes the lid from the skull bowl and, always holding his vajra, sprinkles some drops of the precious contents on the fire.

After the god has been thus ceremoniously received and generously feasted, a solemn hymn is addressed to him. We give here the gist of the lengthy text. He is the Powerful One of the World (*Lokeçvara*, T. *Hjig-rten-dbang-po*), because he is present everywhere in everything, as the most important of the four elements; he is the Son of the Most Powerful Brahmā, (T. *Tshangs-dbang mgon-gyi sras*), the Protector King of the Gods of Fire, Consecrated with the *Takki* Consecration, Who Has Adopted the Ways of a Rshi, the Light of Wisdom, Who Burns the »Sins» (*kṛeça*), Whose Glorious Splendour Conflagrates the Aeons (*kalpa*, i. e. Destroyer of the World on the Latter Days; cf. *Muspilli*), Whose Feet Possess the Miraculous Power of Transformation (alluding to his power of reducing everything to ashes), Who Rides on the »Vehicle» (*yāna*) of »Skilful Means» (*upāya*, his *vāhana* or mount is a he-goat), Who Carries the Vessel Filled with Nectar (*amṛta*) with Which He Reanimates All Beings (the powers of destruction are subdued by the Buddha), Who Relieves from the Torments of Sin, Who Redeems from the Sufferings of the Three Worlds, Who Has Come to Rest (entered Nirvana), the Great Compassionate One, Whom we Worship.

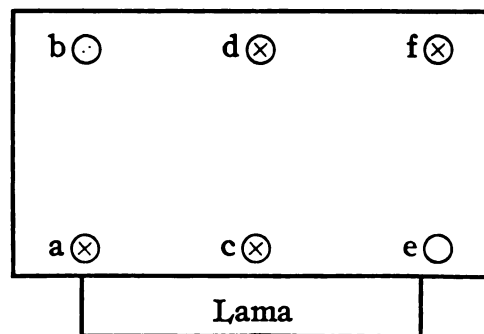
This hymn, purely Indian in spirit and diction, is followed by the dharani: *Om vajra anala mahābhūta jvala jvalaya sarva bhasmikuru sarva dushtana hūṃ phaṭ triçya jaḥ hūṃ baṃ hoḥ samayas tvam samaya hoḥ*, which as far as it is intelligible, may be translated (we do not attempt to restore the correct Sanskrit form): Om vajra fire! great element! blaze! make blaze! reduce to ashes! destroy all evil!

The tongue of Agni resembles a three-pointed vajra. Its colour is white, conforming to the dominating colour of the rite. The syllable *RAM* appears on it, while the two ladles show the character *HŪM*, all emitting rays of light. A prayer is read in which relief from all evils (lit. hindrances, *virodha*, T. *hgal-ba*) is sought. They are specified in a lengthy list, each item being followed by the prayer *ṣāntim kuru*, »bring to rest», »appease». In order to make the prayer more efficacious, it is read seven times, each time accompanied by a butter offering.

In the meantime the tenacious demons may have gathered anew. At any rate it is safer to repeat the ceremonies required to expel them, before proceeding to the solemn rite of giving the special burnt offerings to the »eater of the gifts» (*hutabhuj* or *hutāṣa*, T. *byin-za* or *rten-za*). These are poured or cast into the fire, while dharanis are recited, gestures made and prayers for blessings muttered.

Thus far we have concentrated our attention on the dean and the sacrificers, as the only ones performing certain ritual acts, the lamas of the major choir confining themselves to reciting the liturgic texts. But there is a leader of the second, smaller group, seated on the step under the verandah, who is accompanying the creative stage of the ceremony with a rite called the »coming down of the fourfold water», T. *chu-bshi hbabs-tshul*, for which no explanation can as yet be given. The writer's personal observation may be summarized thus: The second officiant (here probably called *ston-pa* »teacher») has a small table with six (sometimes only three) conch shells in front of him, and also a *bum-pa* (flask for consecrated water, see sketch 9, 9 a—c).

Sketch 13: Arrangement of Conch shells for the Ceremony called  
*Chu-bshi hbabs-tshul*



The three shells in the front row (a, c, e) are placed on stands. All shells contain water, except b and e (Pl. XXX, 3).

When performing the *bdag-bskyed* phase of the rite, water is poured from f into e, from a into b, and from d into f. (There seem to be various ways of transfusing the water, the writer's informants disagreeing in their statements). In the *bdun-bskyed* phase, it seems that water is only transferred from a to b. Sometimes only three conch shells were used instead of six, entailing a considerable simplification of the rite.

After the service of the God of Fire has been concluded the »Gods which have not yet passed out of this world» *laukika*, T. *hjig-rten-pa*, Ch. *shih-chien*, J. *seken* 世 間, are invited to join in the celebration. This is done by offering a flower to them (in most cases an artificial flower is used). The usual procedure of the threefold creation (*bdag*, *mdun*, and *bum*) seems to be abbreviated in this case.

Throughout this first part of the service the dean has been occupied with some rite or other. Now comes an intermission for him and most of the other lamas. But his assistant who has hitherto conducted the concomitant rite of *chu-bshi-hbabs-tshul* rises. He has humbly removed all his ritual insignia of Bodhisattvic rank, and has thrown his heavy, toga-like *sankakshikā* (T. *rngul-gzan*, M. *orkimci*, Ch. *fu-yeh-i*, 覆 腋 衣) over his shoulder. Three lamas in front of the dean, the precentor among them, imitate his example. They form a solemn procession, two novices with cymbals and others with big drums — the number may be increased for very solemn occasions — taking the lead. They are followed by the precentor who carries a long stick of incense. The second officiant usually closes the procession, which, passing behind the chair of the dean, turns to the right and skirts the verandah of Hall III. Then they descend the western steps, and turn to Hall II. The musicians stop at the door, while the precentor and his companion penetrate into the sanctum, ascend the narrow staircase and in deep reverence approach the stand with the mandala, in our case that of *Samvara*. Holding his breath (sometimes he even covers his mouth with a *khatak*), the second officiant pulls the curtains aside. The mandala has been consecrated through complex rites and is now inhabited by its lord and his retinue. While the precentor with his incense stick is standing by, the second lama pays homage to the conclave of deities by going through the prescribed number of prostrations. He pushes the windows open as a symbol that the beams of light emanating from the mandala may find their way unimpeded to the light issuing from the »illumination mind» (*bodhicitta*) of the god-priests grouped around the fire altar.

A small square container (about 50 cm. high) resembling a bower or pavilion, is placed by the mandala. It consists of a frame-work of wood closed with yellow silk curtains and surmounted by a roof which is crowned by a globular knob. A frieze displaying the colours of the Five Tathāgatas encircles the upper border. From its corners project ornamental metal dragons carrying small ornamental bells in their mouths. Its floor may consist of a mirror. The whole represents a miniature *vimāna* (T. *gshal-yas-khang*), the palace or hovering car of the god (Pl. XXXII, 1).

Now the officiant and the precentor both kneel before the mandala (T. *rdul-tshon*). Muttering sacred formulas, the first takes pinches of the coloured powder, representing the individual deities, beginning with the lord and his *çakti*, and places them on the floor of the *gshal-yas-khang*, or, if that is not feasible, he takes the

mirror which serves as its floor, and makes the mandala reflect in it, after which he restores the mirror to its original place at the bottom of the palace. He strews consecrated grains of rice in the interior of the »palace» as a food (or flower?) offering to the god, then he prostrates himself several (probably nine) times, and both lamas wend their way back. At the entrance of the hall, they again form a procession, preceded by the musicians, and they perform the rite of threefold *pradakṣiṇā* of the altar. Then the officiant places the miniature palace on the table at the right side of the dean, all reoccupy their seats, and the second and chief part of the rite commences, with its purification, its consecrations, its »threefold creation», as well as its general offerings, hymns, special oblations, prayers, etc.

Its psychological climax is the triple mystic union between the lord of the mandala and his retinue with the god of fire and the priest. The dean deposits the palace (also called *hot-mandal*, i. e. *khota-mandala*, »mandala city» by the Mongols) in front of him on the wall. Following the instructions of the text recited by the lamas, he takes the coloured powder from the *vimāna* and throws it successively into the fire, or, if the mandala has been merely caught in the mirror, he holds it over the flames, muttering dharanis (Pl. XXXII, 2).

All the gods are supposed to share each of the offering gifts, which requires a considerable time. At last the remnants (T. *lhag-ma*) of the offering plates are collected and thrown into the flame, which must never be allowed to die throughout the rite. Fuel has to be replenished from time to time and butter poured out at frequent intervals. Purification through consecrated water and through the liquid contained in the skull bowl, the inner offering, is repeated from time to time. At last the dough offerings of some of the gods are burned, that of the lord of the soil, (who functions as host, as it were, for his is the place where the banquet is held) being the last.

»Dissolution» (T. *rdsoḡs-rim*) is the last act of this spiritual drama. If the first stage was one of creation (Werdung), the last is one of decreation (Entwerdung), if such a term be permissible. The whole edifying vision of the mystic union obtained through meditation and by elaborate rites based on the joint activity of the »three mysteries» (the body making gestures, the mouth uttering creative words or dharanis, and the mind giving itself to meditation), this »Fülle der Gesichte» (fullness of vision) is dissolved into what they came from: non-substantiality, *çūṇyatā*. Dharanis and gestures are at hand to carry that into effect: they retransform the gods who during the performance of the ritual were consubstantial with the lama back into non-substantiality. Those who occupy the mandala are led back to their original seats. Special rites are required to destroy the mandala and to dispose of the colours in the Nāga well (see the Three Entrance Courts), in order to make room for another magic circle connected with a new program of ceremonies.

# NOTES TO VOLUME ONE

The following notes, as well as the bibliography, should be regarded as more or less preliminary, pending a fuller discussion in the last volume of this work. Books and articles not available at the time of this writing are marked by an asterisk.

<sup>1a</sup> It seems to be preferable, however, to combine both sentences into one period and translate: «As (or If) the Ten Stages (of Bodhisattvahood) Are Fully Realized — The Merits Are (or Will Be) Numerous as the Grains in the Goldsand River».

Other interpretations suggest themselves when comparing the various inscriptions in this temple among themselves and particularly when studying them in the light of Chinese texts — Buddhist and non-Buddhist. As this task lies outside of our scope, we limit ourselves to giving what we think is the most obvious of all explanations possible, reserving a fuller discussion for some later occasion. It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that such inscriptions are more often than not composed to surprise or even puzzle the Chinese literatus by the varieties of associations they evoke and the interpretations of which they seem capable.

For a discussion of the *p'ai-lou* see *Chung-kuo Ying-tsao-k'an*, IV. No. 2, p. 40 ff.; Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, Vol. III, Part I, III. The three openings of the archway present themselves in an even more impressive fashion than the three temple gates to the symbol-seeking mind, being suggestive of the three-fold voidness (*cūnyatā*), viz., that of the ego, the dharmas, and of both taken together. For this symbolism see the *Chung-t'ien-chu Shē-wei-kuo Ch'i-yüan-szū T'u-ching* (TTP, No. 1899, Vol. XLIV, 883 c).

In concluding it may be added that the synonym compound *ch'ü-tao*, meaning «way», «path», «road», is frequent in Buddhist texts.

<sup>1b</sup> *Pao-yeh* evidently stands for *pei-(to-)yeh* 狔多葉. Here *pei-to* transcribes S. *pattra*, leaf, specifically the leaf of the *tāla* or palm tree used as writing «paper» in India and some of the countries which derive their art of writing from that place (Hobo, 47). *Pei-to* is often abbreviated into *pei*, especially in combination with *yeh* «leaf», meaning palm leaf, Buddhist book. It seems, however, that in poetical diction at least, such as we have in our inscription, the real function and meaning which *pei* has in the compound just mentioned has been forgotten or intentionally neglected by substituting its more full-sounding and familiar synonym *pao* (*pei* and *pao* both mean «treasure»). It is also possible that a concurrent allusion to the petals of the lotus flower, chief emblem of Buddhism, is intended.

Here again, a different translation presents itself if we unite the sentences on both sides of the inscription so as to form one period:

«Pure and Wide-open is the Four-fold Path  
(As the Buddha's) Love is Revealed in the Holy Scriptures».

<sup>1c</sup> In Peking often pronounced *ying-pei*, 影壁. For the (possibly Buddhist) origin of these screen walls see the *Tz'u-yüan* and the *Tz'u-hai*, s. v.

<sup>1d</sup> Ferdinand Lessing, *Symbolsprache*, p. 151. The Sanskrit term for statues of lions flanking the entrance gates of palaces is *prāsāda-simha*.

<sup>1e</sup> For *ya-sui-ch'ien* see Lessing, *Symbolsprache*, p. 258 ff.; Wilhelm Grube, *Volkskunde*, p. 48. It remains open to doubt whether the pun between *sui* «year» and *sui* «evil influences» was connected with this phrase from the beginning. «On New Year's Eve», says the *Tz'u-hai* (s. v. *ya* 壓 «to press»; no source quoted), «older people, following an old custom, give to small boys and girls a hundred cash connected by a red string, thus expressing their wish that he or she may live a hundred years». In this connection then, the character *ya* could not have the meaning of «to keep down», but «to secure» as by a pawn or deposit. The modern interpretation of *ya-sui-ch'ien* as «money to check evil auras» therefore seems to be adventitious. According to

Tun Li-ch'en's *Customs*, p. 103, (transl. by Derk Bodde) the «cash to pass the year» was threaded together «so as to form a dragon» (a creature of good omen) and was put at the foot of the bed of children».

The role of old coins as amulets and symbols of good augury has been briefly touched upon in *Symbolsprache*, loc. cit.

<sup>2a</sup> Filchner, *Kumbum*<sup>2</sup>, p. 237, and W. A. Unkrig's note No. 1039, *ibid.*, p. 472. The reconstruction as T. A-chos suggested by Schulemann (*Dalailamas*, p. 102) is not borne out by Huth, *Geschichte*, Tibetan Text, p. 206.

The name for this part of the Yung-ho-kung in local pronunciation is *A-ja-fo-yeh-tsang* (not *ts'ang*, as one should expect), «Department of the *A-ja Khutukhtu*», where *fo-yeh* stands for M. *khutukhtu*, T. *sprul-sku* (see Index).

<sup>2b</sup> *La-pa*, the eighth day of the twelfth Chinese moon, is a popular festival. According to tradition, it was originally celebrated in commemoration of Buddha Çakyamuni's Enlightenment. Fruit and grain is offered up to him, and in certain Buddhist temples a special *chou* or gruel is prepared and given to the needy in fulfilment of the first of the six or ten *pāramitās* or «perfections», that of alms giving (*dāna*). See Chou Mi, *Wu-lin-chiu-shih* fasc. 3, p. 13a (see J. Prushek, «Researches into the Beginnings of the Chinese Popular Novel», *Archiv Or.*, XI, 122); Grube, *Volkskunde*, p. 89; Tun Li-ch'en, *Customs*, p. x and pp. 93—94; *Wu Tzū-mu*, *Mêng-liang-lu*, fasc. 6, p. 5 b; Meng yüan lao, *Tung-ching Mêng-hua-lu*, fasc. 10, p. 9 a (see Prushek, *op. cit.*, III).

It may seem strange that gruel should figure among the things distributed by temples. But a glance at the scriptures teaches us that it has played a great part in the life of the Buddhist monk since olden times. The *Szū-fên-lü* ascribes five kinds of efficacies to it: it stops hunger, quenches thirst, aids in digesting food, furthers the excretions, and cures colds. Other sources enumerate even as many as ten «advantages» deriving from eating gruel, one among them being eloquence! They even do not disdain giving recipes for its preparation. For a collection of pertinent quotations see Kawakami, *Sakuin*, I, pp. 240—242, s. v. *kayu*, and other books of reference.

<sup>3</sup> Waddell, *Lamaism*, prayer-flags, pp. 408—419; Pozdneev, *Ocerki*, pp. 25, 282, 406, 469, etc.; Gordon, *Iconography*, p. 11.

The entrance gates leading into the small front yards of the lama's quarters are almost invariably protected by a printed charm, known as Indra's monogram (M. *Khormusta-in üsük*), technically called *daçākāra vaci* (T. *nam-bcu-dbang-lan*). See Grünwedel, *Šambhala*, pp. 96 ff.; Filchner, *Kumbun*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 159 ff. (a beautiful colored plate) and Umkrig's notes, Nos. 512 ff., giving the literature. This charm is already briefly described in Pallas, *Nachrichten*, II, 154—155. See also Anthropos 22; 964; Clark I, 26. II, C, S, 12a. Schlagintweit, *Bouddhisme*, 77.

The story told about its introduction in Nālandā symbolizes the victory of the Kalacakra system of which the *daçākāra vaci* is an emblem. See Csoma de Körös, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, N. S., VII (1911), Extra Number 1.

<sup>4</sup> Sekino, *Jehol*, II, pl. 45.

<sup>5a</sup> Visitors are generally not allowed to inspect the instruments on the second storey of the Bell and Drum Tower, under the excuse that the buildings are out of repair. The date given for the bell rests upon the authority of G. Bouillard, *Le Temple des lamas*, p. 51. The circumstances under which we were given admittance to the bell made it impossible to take notes. If we are not mistaken it was here that we discovered a Chinese motto engraved on its rim which curiously reminded us of the famous inscription found on Western mediæval bells: «Vivos voco, mortuos plango, fulgura frango». Later efforts made to obtain a copy of the Chinese inscription have failed so far.

Although we are not primarily concerned here with the vast subject of the history of bells and the part they play in the Buddhist cult, a few desultory notes may be welcome as a small contribution to this fascinating subject which deserves a careful study, especially regarding the problem of the introduction of Oriental bells into Europe during the middle ages.

A glance at the Chinese sources on gongs, bells, and kindred instruments reveals a great variety of types and nomenclature. The names seem to be onomatopoeic, as *chung*, Ancient Chinese (Karlgren's reconstructions, but in simplified transliteration) *tshiong* 鐘; *to*, Anc. Ch. *d'ak* 鐸; *ling* 鈴; *ch'ing*, Anc. Chin. *k'ieŋ* 磬, «sonorous stone», etc. This, then, corresponds exactly to what we have in other languages.

The art of casting bells in Chinese antiquity is well attested to both in literary sources and by archaeological finds. The oldest bells are flat in section, like ellipses. This has led archaeologists to conjecture that they may have developed from gong-like metal plates which were bent and sold-



ered together. In later times, probably not before the Han dynasty, around the beginning of our era, we find bells with a circular section. Certain types of these which serve in Buddhist ritual are classified as *jan-chung* 梵鐘, »Brahma» or »Brahmanic Bells», because they are supposed to emit the pure »Brahma sound» (*brahmasvara*, T. *tshangs-pai dbyangs*, Ch. *jan yin* 梵音; see *Hobo*, 133, s. v. *bonnon*) with which the Brahmins and Buddhas are credited.

As to the shapes, measurements, and weights of these ritual bells there exist strict rules which we have to pass over in silence. Let us only mention here that the crown of the bell usually has the shape of a dragon which is suggestive of a very familiar cosmic symbol.

Buddhist scriptures abound in references to the use of bells in Indian Buddhism. But these allusions require a cautious critical study owing to the fact that the older translators at least were not always careful in distinguishing between the various technical terms. Very often it is the word *gaṇḍī* with which they were not familiar, rendering it as *chung*, bell, or *ku*, drum.

A few passages, chosen at random, may serve to illustrate the ideas underlying the use and symbolism of the bell in Buddhism. In the *Ekottarāgamaśūtra* (*Tsêng-i A-han-ching*) translated by Gautama Sanghadeva towards the end of the fourth century (TTP, No. 125, p. 676 c) we read:

Ananda ascended the preaching hall, carrying a *gaṇḍī*, and spoke thus:

»Now I strike the drum (sic) of Faith-in-the-Buddha. All you disciples and the congregation of the Tathāgatas must gather. Thereupon he uttered these stanzas:

In order to conquer Māra, the powerful fiend,  
And to overcome obstruction without residue  
(I) beat the *gaṇḍī* (sic) in the open (as the Buddha had ordered him just before).  
(You) mendicants, assemble.  
(You) who want to hear the Law  
Which saves those drifting in the Ocean of Life and Death (Samsāra)  
On hearing these sweet notes  
Gather here like clouds».

The twofold use of the bell described here — as an instrument to summon the congregation and to conquer, by intimidation apparently, the Evil One with his formidable host — is significant.

An analogous idea is expressed in another passage from the *Ekottarāgama*, as quoted in the *Hsing-shih-ch'ao* (TTP, No. 1804; author Tao-hsüan, 624—667): »If one strikes the bell, all evil of the *durgati* (the lowest three states of existence) cease». (VXL, 6 c; cf. LI, 875 a). It follows from this passage that sounding the bell may save even the inmates of hell from their sufferings. The *T'ang* (or *Hsu*) *Kao-sêng-chuan* by the same author (TTP, No. 2060) relates an edifying legend to the same effect (V.L., 695 c). There is but a short distance from this conception to the belief in the efficacy of tolling the bell for the moribund. »Let bells be sounded and sonorous stone be struck for those who are on the point of dying, so that they may beget pious thoughts». (*Hsing-shih-ch'ao*, loc. cit., 145 a).

As may be expected, there are rules which regulate the times and manner in which bells must be sounded, and the *Vinaya* contains numerous allegorical interpretations of the meaning of these precepts. As an instance we may cite the term *pai-pa-chung* 百八鐘, which is still much in use and which we find mentioned in the (*Ch'ih-hsiu*) *Ch'ing-kuei fa-ch'i-chang* (TTP, No 2025, XLVIII, 1155). The expression means: one hundred and eight strokes of the bell. These are given in three series of thirty-six strokes each. They are explained as the hundred and eight epithets of the Buddha used in invocation, the hundred and eight names of the *kleśas* (»defilements») which will be annihilated (*supra*), and — in a rather unorthodox, but very popular spirit — as the hundred and eight parts of the Chinese year, viz., the twelve months, the twenty-four »solar terms» or *ch'i* 氣, and the seventy-two »periods» or *hou* 候.

As we know, Chinese bells have no metal clapper, but are struck with a wooden club, which enhances the mellowness of the tone. When the sweet notes of the Yung-ho-kung bell awoke the lamas for early service, about 3 o'clock, at the festival of the Healing Buddha (which will be described in the part of this book dealing with Hall IV) it was always edifying to witness how the *slob-dpon* (instructing lama) would explain to his drowsy novices on their way to the temple that these bells are the voice of the Buddha who dissolves the darkness of nescience (*avidyā*) in the minds of men in the same way that he gradually dispels darkness in the outer world. If we are not mistaken, we have here an instance of Chinese, not Lamaist symbolism.

The temple bells are a favorite topic in Chinese and Japanese poetry, and whenever a pious Budd-

hist laments the decay of his religion and the desertion of famous places of worship, he is not likely to refrain from mentioning that the incense has ceased burning and the bells have stopped sounding. See, e. g., the preface to the *Lo-yang-(ch'êng-nei) Ch'ieh-lan Chi* (TTP, No. 2092, Vol. LI, p. 999 a): »In the deserted capital more than a thousand temples are now lying waste, and the sound of the bells is seldom heard«. The rich information on bells contained in Chinese Buddhist scriptures is partly digested in the well-known Japanese Buddhist lexica, to which we refer the reader. See Oda, *Daijiten*, p. 201; Mochizuki, *Bukkyō*, Vol. I, pp. 455 ff. and pl. XXXV; *Zenrin shōkisen*, pp. 720—729. In Lamaist ritual bells play a rather insignificant part, and that seems to be in keeping with ancient Indian usage.

These brief notes will have illustrated some of the striking analogies regarding the use and symbolism of bells in Buddhist China and Europe. It has been pointed out by authorities on technology like F. M. Feldhaus that other analogies obtain concerning the shape and the art of casting (e. g. the circular holes found in European mediæval bells which are said to improve their sound). The attempts made so far to establish a genetic relation between Chinese and European bells suffer from a lack of knowledge of tested sources. In a comparative study, the numerous legends about bells should not be overlooked.

We have little to say here about the counterpart of the bell, the drum, in spite of the fact that it has a timehonored place in ritual. The simile »to beat the drum of the Law« is one of the stock phrases applied to the preaching of the Buddha. The drum, being empty and still giving a loud sound, readily lent itself to many metaphors and symbols. Not only is the inane, foolish brag-gart likened to it (as he may be likened to any resounding empty vessel), but voidness (*çūnyatā*) and space (*ākāṣa*) are also symbolized by the drum. For the various uses of the drum, particularly in Ch'an (Zen) ritual, see the *Zenrin Shōkisen*, pp. 729—732. On the *gandī* see *Gandī-stotra-gāthā*, transcribed (in Sanskrit) from the Chinese and translated into German by A. v. Staël-Holstein (*Bibliotheca Buddhica*, XV).

<sup>5b</sup> It seems that the Chinese wording of this passage has some bearing on the name of the archway *Chao-t'ai-mên* (*supra*).

<sup>6</sup> Sekino, *Jehol*, II, pl. 47; III, pl. 16.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, II, Pl. 44.

<sup>7a</sup> Here we have a clear allusion to the Dgah-lan (Galdan, Genden) Temple near Lha-sa, founded by Tsong-kha-pa. The discussion as to what extent the organization and imagery of that celebrated seat of Lamaist learning and worship influenced those of the Yung-ho-kung we reserve for the chapter on its history in the last volume of this work.

<sup>8</sup> B. Melchers, *Tempelbau*, pl. 50.

<sup>9</sup> *Ch'i-fo pa-p'u-sa so shuo t'o-lo-ni shên-chou-ching* translated between 317—420. TTP, No. 1332. Ch. IV (XXI, p. 582 c).

<sup>10</sup> S. Doré, *Superstitions*, VII, 204—205.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 56.

<sup>12</sup> *Shih-shih yao-lan*, TTP, LIV, 303 b.

<sup>13</sup> On Hārītī (T. Hphrog-ma) see N. Péri, »Hariti, mère des démons«, *BEFEO*, XVII, p. 3 ff. and XVII, p. 37; A. Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique*, II, 169; L. Scherman, *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* (1916—1917) p. 287. A. Foucher, *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, pp. 139—146. A. Grünwedel, *Kultstätten*, p. 136, and ill. 297. A. Stiasny, »Einiges zur buddhistischen Madonna«, *Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst*, I, 112—116. Important texts dealing with Hārītī and her favorite son Pingala are included in TTP, No. 1260—1263. Pictures of documentary value are found in TTP, Supplementary Volume III, Nos. 127, 128, 129, 130, 269, 270, and *passim*. For the representations of Hārītī discovered in Chinese Turkestan by Sir A. Stein, Grünwedel, and von LeCoq, compare the following excerpt from *ERE*, XII, 149 a: »Ishtar, as the goddess of love and the symbol of creation was represented by a female figure with her breasts exposed and a child on her left arm sucking her breast«. A Greek archetype has also been surmised for this representation, viz., Eirene and Plutos with the cornu-copia (Scherman, *loc. cit.*, 130).

<sup>14</sup> The manner in which Ch'ieh-lan was ousted by another genius is illustrated by a legend from the *Shên-hsien t'ung-chien* Book XIV, quoted in Doré, *Superstitions*, VII, 205. The Taoists possess an analogous figure in Wang Ling-kuan. Originally a magician of the Sung dynasty, he was deified during the reign of Yung-lo (1403—1424). Brief notes about him are included in the *Tz'ü-yüan* and the *Tz'ü-hai*, s. v. See also Doré, *op. cit.*, II, 132—133, the plan on p. 44, and *passim*.

<sup>15</sup> *Tê-yü Lung-hua-hsin-chêng ch'an-i*, written by the same author, obviously identical with the first book mentioned, is included in the *Kyôto Tripitaka* and its Commercial Press reprint. The excellent Buddhist bibliography *Busho Kaisetsu Daijiten*, by G. Ono (VI, 42 c—d) mentions a *Ting-ling-ta-shih Pu-tai Ho-shang Chuan* ascribed to a priest of the *Yüeh-lin-szü* of *Ming-chou* by the name of *Hsing-te*, written in the twenty-seventh year of *Tao-kuang* (1847) which seems to include much more material than the present writer had access to when compiling his notes. According to Prof. Ono, the book agrees in many passages with the *Yüeh-lin szü-chih*.

<sup>16</sup> See also Helen B. Chapin, 'The Ch'an Master Pu-Tai', *JAOS*, LIII (1933), 52.

<sup>17</sup> The *chu-chang* 柱杖 (to be distinguished from the rattlestaff of the mendicant, *infra*, note 26), the use of which was originally restricted to the old, invalid, or sick monks. Cf. *P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih* (*Vinaya-kshudraka-vastu*, translated by I-ching between 700—712) Ch. 6, in TPP No. 1451 (XXIV, 229 c). Later it became the emblem of the wandering monk, especially with the Ch'ian (Sen) sect.

<sup>18</sup> Th. Stcherbatsky, *Central Conception*, *passim*.

<sup>19</sup> For specimens of this type of Buddhist literature see D. T. Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, *passim*. This pioneer work on Zen includes a number of conversations similar to those quoted here, giving both the original Chinese and the English translation. The importance of these texts as examples of an early use of the Chinese colloquial for literary purposes has been pointed out by Dr. Hu Shih in his essay *Development of Zen Buddhism in China* and elsewhere. See also H. Maspero, 'Sur quelques textes anciens', *BEFEO*, XIV, part 4, pp. 1—36.

<sup>20</sup> (*Fu-kuo-huan* (or *yüan*)-*wu Ch'an-shih*) *Pi-yen-lu*, TTP, No. 2003 (XLVIII, 157 a and 160 c). For a brief history of this important text see Suzuki, *Essays*, 217—218 (quoted there under the title: *Pi-yen-chi*).

<sup>21</sup> A. Waley, *The Way and its Power*, p. 147.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. the *Ning-po Chien-yao-chih* (in the *Szü-ming ts'ung-shu*), section *Lao-shih* of the *Wu-tai* period (905—960), *chüan* 3, p. 33 f. According to this source, Chiang lived at the beginning of the reign of *Hsien-tê* (954—959; as might be expected, the 'chronology' of these legends teems with anachronisms). A charitable man, genial and pious, he had formed the habit of reciting the *Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra* and was therefore nicknamed Chiang Maha. Pu-tai lived with him for three years in the *Yüeh-lin* Temple. The text, after relating the incident of Chiang's discovering an eye on Pu-tai's back (*infra*) continues: 'On account of what you saw', said Pu-tai, 'I will leave you my bag which will cause your issue to enjoy official position for generations'.

<sup>23</sup> *Gandavyūha*, quoted by Suzuki, *Essays*, III, p. 10 ff.

<sup>24</sup> Ch. *hua-yüan*, J. *ke-en* 化緣, literally: the reason (why the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas appear in this world and convert sentient beings by changing their karmic disposition in regard to salvation). In popular parlance it means begging, the mendicant gives the layman a chance to practise *dāna* 'alms-giving' (*supra*, note 2<sup>b</sup>). By doing so he changes his predisposition and opens up for him the path towards salvation.

<sup>25</sup> For China, see e. g., the legend of Bodhidharma in Doré, *Superstitions*, III, 245—250; *Ch'uan-têng-lu* TTP, No. 2076 (LI, 220 b).

<sup>26</sup> It may be observed in passing that in the legends of various eminent monks the rattlestaff, *khakkhara*, Ch. *hsi-chang*, J. *shaku-jo* 錫杖 is capable of the same transformation as Aaron's rod (Exod. 2).

<sup>27</sup> *Ch'ang-t'ing* 長汀, in the province of Fukien. Pu-tai Ho-shang was also known as *Ch'ang-t'ing-tzū*, 'The Man of the Ch'ang-t'ing (Brook)', probably from the event related above.

<sup>28</sup> The rest of the story has been related above from another source.

<sup>29</sup> This poem has been translated by Dr. Helen B. Chapin in her article mentioned in note 16, *supra*. Its difficulty and partial obscurity will justify our attempt at a new interpretation. Some good suggestions made by Mr. Susumu Nakamura have been gratefully used in preparing this rendering.

<sup>30a</sup> *Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst*, I, 120—136; reviewed by P. Pelliot in *T'oung-Pao*, 1925—26. The view expressed by Scherman has been questioned by a reviewer of Sven Hedin's *Jehol*, who erroneously ascribes its origin to the present writer. May we restate our opinion in these terms: the first drawings representing Pu-tai, to which our sources allude, were obviously crude attempts made by more or less skilful hands to epitomize his features as they saw or recollected them. In the course of time these portraits became more and more 'idealized' (expressing the 'idea' rather than the personality called Pu-tai): the head became rounder, the lobes of the ears longer (after the fashion

of a Buddha), the wrinkles developed into a broad grin, the neck and limbs became shorter, the belly more and more protruding. Viewing the multifarious influences which Hellenistic art exercised, directly or indirectly, upon Gandharan art, we do not doubt that those archaeologists are correct who assume that there exists a typological relationship between pot-bellied Silenos, the pot-bellied (*lambodara*) Yaksha, and, though in a rarified degree, the «Pot-bellied Buddha». The common epithet may have prompted the idea in both cases.

<sup>30b</sup> G. Ecke and P. Demiéville, *Zayton*, pp. 71—72, pl. 49. In this monograph similar characters of Ch'an hagiography are mentioned. Cf. Sekino and Tokiwa, *Shiseki*, V, plate 95, for stone statues of Pu-tai and the Eighteen arhats in the Fei-lai-fêng Monastery (Hang-chou, province of Chekiang), dating from the Yüan dynasty. Of the five characteristics enumerated in the explanatory volume (p. 151) of this monumental work we mention, that here for the first time Eighteen arhats appear, and that Pu-tai occurs under the name of Maitreya.

<sup>31</sup> *Sādhana-mālā*, p. 569, No. 291.

<sup>32a</sup> For this quotation the writer is indebted to Mr. S. Nakamura.

<sup>32b</sup> *Tao-tê-ching*, Ch. XLV (Waley, *The Way and Its Power*, p. 198).

<sup>33</sup> For Pu-tai in Chinese folklore cf. W. Eberhard, *Chinese Fairy Tales and Folk Tales*, No. 73.

<sup>34</sup> In this connection a passage found in Hjiags-med nam-mkha's *Hor-chos-byung* is of interest. It states that Byams-chen Chos-rje, after returning from his famous mission to China, founded the famous lamasery *Se-ra Theg chen-gling* in 1419 (Huth: 1418; Schulemann, *Dalailamas*, p. 66: 1417) where he placed . . . exquisite figurines carved from white sandalwood and encased in little boxes or shrines. These objects he himself had brought from China. They represented the «Teacher» (i. e., Çakyamuni) and the Sixteen Sthaviras (Arhats; see Hall III), also the Kalyāṇamitra Hva-çang (Huth's translation, p. 197, line 18, is not quite correct).

If we accept this statement as historically true, it proves that Ho-shang = Hva-çang was at that time already grouped together with Çakyamuni and the Arhats, as we have it in Hall III. It is likely that he was at first placed as a separate unit representing a preincarnation of Maitreya, the Future Buddha, and was later made to join the Arhats whom he resembled as a type. See Hall III and also the beautiful painting in Hall XVI, B 46 (cf. Hall I, note 45). Further information on Pu-tai may be found in E. Rouselle, *Sinica*, VI (1931), 238—242. The writer regrets that he had not the benefit of J. Prip Möller's monumental work «Chinese Buddhist Monasteries». For the interesting disputation between the representatives of the two opposing schools, the *Tsen-min* (i. e. *-men* or *chien-chiao*, Giles 1629; 1352. See Oda, *Daijiten*, Index, p. 98) and the *Tön-mün* (i. e. *tun-men* or *-chiao*, Giles 12.221. See Oda, Index, p. 95) cf. Bu-ston, *History*, II, pp. 191 ff.

The Tibetan name *Hva-çang dge-bsnyen* is curious. Taken word for word it would mean: the Layman Priest (S. *Upādhyāya Upāsaka*). But the real meaning seems to be: The Ho-shang (in the shape of a) layman, which is known as one of the shapes under which Buddhas and Bodhisattvas manifest themselves when occupied with their noble task of converting the «Living Beings».

<sup>35</sup> *Dīgha-nikāya*, III, 201, calls the Great King who rules over the North Vessavana. See Kirfel, *Kosmographie*, p. 196.

<sup>36</sup> S. Scherman, l. c., p. 138; *Gandhara*, II, 124; A. v. Staël-Holstein, in *Īśāstuvistik*, ed. and transl. by W. Radloff, *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, XII (1910), 103.

<sup>37</sup> V. Segalen, *\*Mission archéologique en Chine*.

<sup>38</sup> Statue of Duke Henry of Silesia who was killed in the battle of Liegnitz (1241) where he fought against the Mongols. See the picture of the statue of his tomb at Breslau in Yule and Cordier's *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, II, 493.

<sup>39</sup> In Lamaism, Kubera is, as a rule, distinguished from *Vaiçravaṇa* and relegated to his retinue.

<sup>40</sup> Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, pp. 137—138, fig. 88. The formulation of this passage, however, is hypothetical.

<sup>41</sup> Sir Aurel Stein, *Serindia*, II, 870.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> Kirfel, *Kosmographie*, especially pp. 28\*—36\*.

<sup>44</sup> E. Waldschmidt, *Legende vom Leben des Buddha*, pp. 182—183; See also H. Doré, *Superstitions*, IX, 553—556; Wieger, *Buddhisme*, II, p. 85, No. 60. Rouselle, «Bildwerke», *Sinica* VI (1931), 113—142.

<sup>45</sup> For the function as protectors of the country see in the *Suvarṇa-prabhasa(uttamarāja)sūtra*, TTP, No. 665, the chapter entitled *Szū-ta-t'ien-wang Hu-kuo-p'in* (XVI, 427 ff.). Cf. Hall VII, Appendix, and J. Nobel's edition of the Sanskrit text of this sutra, pp. vii and viii. It is therefore

considered as one of the *Hu-kuo-ching* «Country-protecting Sutras» (Oda, 525 a). In Tibet the Four Lokapālas are classed as *Yul-lha* «Local Genii» or «Gods of the Country». There are very beautiful and apparently old paintings in Hall XVI belonging to a series of Arhats (Row B, Nos. 3, 6, 42, 47). Unfortunately all of these pictures are difficult to examine due to the darkness of the temple.

<sup>46</sup> A. Grünwedel, *Mythologie*, ill. 160. 2 paintings of the same kind in the Hedin Exp. Coll. S. E. M. Stockholm.

<sup>47</sup> As Maspero has already pointed out (*Légendes mythologiques*, p. 94, note 2), Chung and Li, distinguished as two persons, represent the more recent, Chung-li, taken as one, the earlier conception. Another evidence of this is found in the *Hou-han-shu* 41,7 a (a man named Chung-li). There exists also a mountain range of that name, cf. Ma Tuan-lin, transl. by d'Hervey Saint-Denys, II, 96. For a territory in Ch'u of that name see the *Ch'un-ch'iu* (Legge, op. cit., V 594—596). Note by Dr. Mänchen.

<sup>48</sup> The relation between the Lokapālas and snakes is also reflected in the Buddhist myth related above (*supra*, p. 23, line 50).

<sup>49</sup> One feels inclined to conjecture *ch'ing* 青 «bluish-green» for *yu* 有 «to be».

<sup>50</sup> Words in brackets are additions by the present writer.

<sup>51</sup> 1387—1644. Cf. W. Grube's partial translation of the work and H. Mueller's supplement and index.

<sup>52</sup> *Fêng-shên-yen-i* (Grube's translation), Vol. I, Part II, pp. 528 ff.

<sup>53</sup> *Fêng-shên-yen-i* (Chinese text), Book VIII, Ch. 99.

<sup>54</sup> Anna Bernhardi, «Vier Könige; ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Spiele», *Baessler Archiv*, XIX, 148—180.

<sup>55</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 165.

<sup>56</sup> Translated by H. Kern, *JRAS*, N. S., V (1871).

<sup>57</sup> Bernhardi, *op. cit.*, 167.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*; cf. the interesting table on p. 180.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. the common polite inquiry, still in use in the modern Mongolian epistolary style, after one's *makhabut* «elements», i. e., «constitution», «health», a phrase obviously taken over from the Uigur. Cf. Dr. Annemarie v. Gabain, «Briefe der uigurischen Hüen-tsang-Biographie», *SPAW*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, XXIX (1938), reprint, p. 32, note 1875.

Another aspect of their cosmic relations is expressed by the belief that the twenty-eight lunar mansions (*nakshatras*, T, *skar rgyu*) are their daughters. See also Wang Yü-ch'i, *Yü-ch'ieh-hsüeh Shih-chieh-kuan* («The World Conception of Yogism»), II, 61 a.

<sup>60</sup> See Hall II, note 29.

<sup>61</sup> Noël Péri was probably the first to point out that owing to a clerical error he became a member of the Chinese, and consequently of the Japanese, pantheon under an incorrect name (Le Dieu Wei-t'o, *BEFEO*, XVI (1916), pt. 3, 41—56; additional note in XVIII, pt. 2, 36—37; a summary of the article is in XXI (1922), 355).

<sup>62</sup> Mochizuki, *Bykkyō*, I, p. 125, gives his Tibetan name as *Skembyed*. According to Das', *Dictionary*, 93 b, this designates a demon causing drought, while *Skem-byed* ça-za, i. e., *Piçāca Skembyed*, is recorded as Kumara, younger brother of Mahādeva. On the other hand we find in the same dictionary, 1132 b, under the entry *yi-dvags* (preta), No. 7: *Skem-byed* = *Skanda* (*supra*), a cluster of errors which we confess we are still unable to disentangle.

It should be mentioned here that the very last figure in Hall XVI, Second Floor, whom the lamas designate with the somewhat enigmatic name «Liching Garbo», i. e., «White Liching(?)», seems to be related to, if not identical with, *Dpe-dkar* (*Vihāra-pāla*), the native Tibetan Protector of Temples. He was very probably placed there as *Skanda*'s Lamaist counterpart, acting as the special protector of the purely Lamaist section of the Yung-ho-kung.

*Skanda*'s club possesses magical powers. Pointed downwards, it would cleave the earth, etc.

Several years ago we saw in Berlin a statue of *Skanda*, of unknown provenance, which, at first glance, looked as a Chinese adaptation of one of our traditional dragon-killer groups. The *Skanda* group showed the same contrast between the placid, almost unconcerned attitude of the hero who forced his club deep into the dragon's throat, and the violent contortions of the squirming reptile. We admit we never saw anything similar in any of the Chinese temples we visited, yet we do not feel safe in suspecting the authenticity of the finely executed wooden sculpture. Supposing it to be genuine, the question as to the meaning of the representation and its possible genetic connec-

tions would pose itself. What would be its mythological legendary or symbolical background? One might feel tempted to find in it analogies with what Christian symbolism has superimposed on the antique Perseus group: the fight of light against darkness, of Christ against Satan or Antichrist, of holiness against sin, etc. In Buddhist terminology, that would be expressed as the struggle of wisdom against original nescience (*avidyā*), the nearest approach to the Christian original sin. An interesting outlook: Perseus—St. Michael—St. George—Skanda—Wei-t'o. Perhaps a key to this must be sought in Hindu mythology and iconography.

We hope to return to this interesting figure when dealing with certain Chinese aspects of Avalokiteśvara-Kuan-yin. Doré, *Superstitions*, VII, 206—209. Rousselle, *Bildwerke, Sinica*, VI/1931, 242—246.

## HALL II

<sup>1</sup> Indo-Tibetica, III, Part I, pp. 147 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Many of the analyses in this book are based upon W. E. Clark, *Two Lamaistic Pantheons*. The second volume of this work contains reproductions of two pantheons, while the first volume is a carefully prepared index of the Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese names, including not only the two pantheons reproduced in the second volume (referred to as A, M, and B, respectively), but also those in the album generally known as *«The Five Hundred Gods of Narthang»* (Snar-thang; referred to as C), and the *«Pantheon of the Lcang-skya Khutukhtu»* (Chang-cha Huthuktu, also known as *«The Three Hundred Gods»*, referred to as D; it has been thought convenient to follow Clark in designating the four pantheons in this book). The last-cited album is known through A. Grünwedel's edition (*«Veröffentlichungen aus dem königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, I (1890), parts I and II, and «Das lamaistische Pantheon», Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1899.* These publications, however, do not reproduce all the three hundred divinities of the original. The complete series is found in *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, Vol. V. Its editor, F. I. Oldenburg, apparently has not been able to publish the Sanskrit index which he promised in his preface, but Clark's index now fills this gap.

For further details regarding the four sources mentioned, the reader is referred to Vol. I of Clark's study. The writer does not have access at present to the volume of the *Veröffentlichungen* cited above. For the *«Five Hundred Gods»* he is confined to his own very defective copy. The copy used by Grünwedel (see Clark, I, Introd., p. ix) could not be located.

As already stated elsewhere, a word for word description of many complicated icons and a literal reproduction of the *abhisamaya* part of the sadhanas has been considered superfluous. Wherever feasible, the information derived from the study of the images and the texts has been tabulated. It is hoped that this method will greatly facilitate the task of identifying a given representation. For the same reason the faces and hands have in most cases been numbered in a somewhat mechanical fashion, namely, from top to bottom, and contrasting the right and left hands by pairs instead of finishing first the one side, and then going over to the other. The sadhanas follow a more logical procedure by beginning with the *«original»* or *«principal»* (*mūla*, T. *rtsa-ba*) face or hand which is, of course, more or less in keeping with the historical evolution. In many figures it has been thought convenient to indicate the directions in which the hands are stretched or bent.

The word *«gesture»* (*mudrā*, T. *phyag-rgya*, Ch. *shou-yin* 手印) indicates the position of the hands, while posture (*āsana*), refers to the position of the feet.

<sup>3</sup> For Simhabhadra, T. Seng-ge-bzang-po, see W. Wassiljew (Vasilev), *Der Buddhismus*, p. 221 (p. 242); Taranatha, translated by W. Wassiljev (in Russian), p. 211 (= Haribhadra); Taranātha, *Edelsteinmine*, 88, states he was the teacher of Buddha-ṣrī-jñāna, T. Sangs-rgyas-dpal-ye-ṣes.

<sup>4</sup> Grünwedel in his *«Vierundachtzig Zauberer»*, pp. 166, 178, 180, etc., calls Guhya-samāja the Tantra form of Manjuṣrī. See also *Edelsteinmine*, pp. 89, 90. As M. Winternitz has pointed out (IHQ, IXL), the *Guhya-samāja-tantra* we possess I, 1933, and which belongs to the most objectionable type of Tantras cannot be identical with the *Guhya-samāja-tantra* quoted in the *Ḍikṣhāmuccaya*, and he rejects, on good grounds, the hypothetical authorship of Asanga. The Sanskrit text discovered by Mahāmāhāphādhyāya Prasāda Shāstrī has been edited with an introduction and index by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya in Gaekwad's Oriental Series, LIII. See *Mélanges*, III, 399. Its Chinese translation, under the title *I-ch'ieh ju-lai chin-kang-san-yeh tsui-shang-pi-mi-ta-chiao-wang-ching*, is in TTP, No. 885 (V. 469—511). For the Tibetan text, see Ui, *Catalogue*, No. 442: *De-bshin gcegs-pa thams-cad-kyi sku-gsung-thugs-kyi gsang-ba-hdus-pa shes bya-ba brtag-pai rgyal-po chen-po*, = S. Sarva-

*tathāgata-kāya-vāk-citta-rahasya-guhyā-samāja-nāma-māha-kalpa-rāja*, *Anal. Cat.*, No. 81. Cf. also G. Tucci, «Some Gloses on the Guhya-samāja-tantra», *Mélanges*, III, 339—353. Notwithstanding its repellent contents, the book deserves a careful study of the original text and its translations as a basic work on that thinly veiled «religious» eroticism which goes under the name of one of the purest teachers of mankind, imputing to him the most objectionable practices. Such a study will show that the Chinese translation has tried to temper or to veil the crudities of the original, but that the Chinese verses are hardly always intelligible without it, and that the Tibetan translators, as always, have succeeded in reproducing the Sanskrit faithfully.

According to the *Lam-rim Chen-po* (Tsybikow, I, Part II, p. xix), Tsong-kha-pa studied this tantra under Red-mdah-pa (but cf. Huth, *Geschichte*, Tibetan text, 114). See also E. Obermiller, «Tsong-kha-pa le pandit», *Mélanges*, III, 336—337.

For the ambiguity regarding the meaning of the terms *parāvṛtti*, *maithuna-parāvṛtti*, see L. de la Vallée Poussin's note, *Mélanges*, III, 399—400. A learned discussion of the mandala of Guhya-samāja is found in Tucci's article (*supra*), p. 344; for analogy with the thirteen members of the first creation according to Manichean Cosmology, see p. 346. The intriguing problem of the relations between Buddhism and Manichaeism are beyond the province of the present writer. Considering the importance of the topic, however, a few writings may be cited in this general connection: A. Grünwedel, *Die Legenden des Nāropā*, Leipzig, 1933 (as most of Grünwedel's later writings very uncritical, especially pp. 687—688; (Review by G. Tucci, *JRAS*, 1935, 677—688, dissenting); E. J. Huston, «Did Manichaeism Influence Lamaism?», *JNCBRAS*, LX (1929); A. Lloyd, «The Formative Elements of Japanese Buddhism», *TASJ*, (1908), 193—244 (four lectures, the first of which deals with Manichaeism and Kōbō Daishi).

The *mahā-sukha-kāya* of the Guhya-samāja group in Tantrism is the fourth *kāya* of the *Tathāgata* and therefore identical with the *vajrakāya*. It is with this *kāya* that the *Tathāgata* or *Bhagavat* — the term assumes here obviously a mystical, or, according to our conception, an obscene connotation — eternally embraces his *Bhagavati* or *çakti*. Cf. de la Vallée Poussin, *Opinions*, 403. On *mahāsukha* see *Sādhana-mālā*, II, pp. xxvi, lviii, cxlvi, and Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. xi ff. Is it possible that the dark blue color of Guhya-samāja originated in the name Guhya-kāla, which is perhaps an epithet or a synonym of his (though it may at the same time designate an entirely different personality? We are inclined to think the color to be the primary factor here.

The writer cannot attempt to analyze the various rituals performed in honor of Guhya-samāja — his importance appears from the fact alone that the Tantra of which he is the personification is one of the «Nine Dharmas» of Nepal. Suffice it to state here that his *pranidhāna* (T. *smon-lam*) figures among the minor texts recited daily — without special offerings — before his image in Hall II (*Rabgsal*) No. 43.

See also B. Bhattacharyya, on process of realisation of deities according to the Guhya-samāja-tantra, *IHQ*, IX, 40—44, 40—45 (cf. de la Vallée Poussin, *Mélanges*, 399—400).

<sup>6</sup> There is a deity called She Who Wards off (*Mahā-pratyangirā*, T. *Phyir-zlog-chen-mo*). She has one head and six arms and is seated, with the ornaments and expression of the Tara class of goddesses.

<sup>7</sup> It is in the version given here that a verger told the legend to a group of Mongol worshippers in front of the image. For a literary version see Bu-ston (*History of Buddhism*, translated by E. Obermiller, Part, pp. 137—139; Tāranātha, *Buddhism in India*, Russian translation by Wassiljew, p. 171, note. Cf. A. Grünwedel, *Vierundachtzig Zauberer*, p. 153, fig. 3: Maheçvara and Umā seated on the bull Nandī (the representation is a precursor of the later yuganaddha types).

<sup>8</sup> We hope to find later an opportunity for a detailed discussion of these personalities which are so important in Tantrism.

<sup>9</sup> On the wolf in Indian mythology see Scherman, *Visionslitteratur*, p. 124.

<sup>10</sup> The *Sādhana-mālā* describes him as a companion of Lokanātha-Avalokiteçvara; cf. B. Bhattacharyya, *Iconography*, pp. 37—39; A. Foucher, *Études*, I, pp. 99, 102, 105, 131, 148.

<sup>11</sup> For a possible connection between the words Manjuçrī and Manchu (more correctly: Manju), see E. Hauer, «Das mandschurische Kaiserhaus», *MSOS*, XXIX (1926), 1—9. Manjughosha Emperor (Hjam-dbyangs-gong-ma) is the title by which Tibetan writers use to refer to the Manchu emperors. (Huth, *Geschichte*, Tib. text, 168, and *passim*).

<sup>12</sup> The «Six Ornaments of Jambudvīpa» mentioned above form the opening series of the second of the «Two Lamaistic Pantheons» published by W. E. Clark (II, pp. 225—226; *supra*, note 2).

<sup>13</sup> For an etymology of the name, see S. Goldschmidt in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft*, XXV (N. F., V), (1881), 610 ff. The dharani of Mount Sumeru is found in *TTP*, No. 1415 (XXI, 928—931). S. title: *Mahā-vajra-meru-çikhara-kutāgāra-dāharaṇī*. Cf. Ui, *Catalogue*, Nos. 751, 946, and *Anal. Cat.* No. 407 for T. transliteration. A drawing of the Sumeru altar is found in Mochizuki, *Bukkyō*, III, 2516 b, and of a Sumeru stand *ibid.*, 2515 c. On the latter see also P. Pel-liot, *TP*, XXII (1923), 273, note 4 (»piédestaux étranglés à la taille«).

<sup>14</sup> For a full discussion of this subject based on Pali and Sanskrit sources, see Kirfel, *Kosmographie* (bibliography on pp. 178—179). Cf. W. M. McGovern, *Philosophy*, pp. 51 ff.

<sup>15</sup> This artificial combination is a later complication of a plain inverted shape. Cf. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, II (1848), reproduced by Kirfel *op. cit.*, pl. I. Cf. also the *cakravala* in Georgi, *Alphabetum*, (Kirfel, *op. cit.*, pl. II), etc.

<sup>16</sup> For the P'u-lo-tien, see Sven Hedin, *Jehol*, pp. 66 ff., drawing on p. 68. Cf. Sekino, *Jehol*, III, plates 23—29.

<sup>17</sup> Professor R. Tajima has published a most valuable *Etude sur le Mahāvairocana-sūtra* (*Dainichi-kyō*) with an annotated translation of its first chapter. This is the first step towards the evaluation of this highly important work. We hope that the author of this study will proceed with his re-searches in this field in which he is the universally recognized authority (*supra*, note 5).

<sup>18</sup> *Indo-Tibetica*, III, pt. I, 94. See also his articles in *Mélanges*, III, 342 and *passim*.

<sup>19</sup> The expression »borrowed from« is somewhat misleading. All there is to it is a certain ana-logy, as there is to many other Indian stories. For the *Ekaçṛṅga* legend compare F. W. K. Mül-ler, *Ikkaku Sennin, eine mitteralterliche japanische Oper*. *Bastian Festschrift*, Berlin (1896, 513—537); *Mahāvastu*, III, 143 ff.; H. Lüders in *NGGW*, 1901, p. 120 ff.; Winternitz, *Literatur*, II, 229, note 4.

<sup>20</sup> Grünwedel, *Vierundachtzig Zauberer*, pp. 192—195.

<sup>21</sup> *Edelsteinmine, Bibliotheca Buddhica*, XVIII, 49—53.

<sup>22</sup> Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten*, pp. 234, 235, 237, 284. See also his *Vierundachtzig Zauberer*, p. 222, Nachtrag.

<sup>23</sup> B. Bhattacharyya, *Iconography*, p. 158, and plate XLII, e. For various treatises dealing with this dharani, see the same author's *Sādhana-mālā*, II, pp. cvi, cxv, and Ui's *Catalogue*, Index, pp. 77—78. Cf. *Analyt. Cat.*, Nos. 406, 574. Cf. also *TTP*, Nos. 1416, 1417 (XXI). The introduction to the second treatise (*Fo-shuo huai-hsiang ching-kang-t'o-lo-ni ching*, translated by Sharapa, a dis-ciple of Hphags-pa, in Peking in 1314) reads thus (*TTP*, XXI, p. 932 a), »So I heard once: The Bhagavan dwelt in the *vajrabhūmi*. The *adhishthāna* (如 *ju*, evidently a misprint for 如 *chia*) of the body of the Tathāgata Vajrapāṇi having become vajra, he immediately entered the *vajra-samādhi*. At that time, when Vajrapāṇi received the Buddha's divine powers (*ṛddhipada*), Vajrakrodha uttered this most miraculous *vajra-garbha*-(or *hrdaya*)-*dhāraṇī* which is uncleavable, indestructible and un-dauntable, which terrifies all beings and annihilates their *kleśas*. This dharani destroys all spells, counteracts all spells, breaks all actions and is able to frustrate all actions of others. It annihilates all the demons, relieves from the grip of all the demons, keeps in check all the spirits which belong to the various demon classes and causes that spells which have not yet achieved results shall reach results (*siddhi*), and that after they have achieved results these will not be frustrated. It causes that all expectations will be fulfilled. (The dharani) protects all beings which perform the rites of proitixating deities (*çāntika*) and increasing welfare (*paushtika*)».

Most authentic information on Vajrasattva will be found in Tucci's *Indo-Tibetica*, *passim*, esp. Vol. III, Part II, pp. 147 ff. (the mirror of meditation, cf. Hall II, Interior, First Floor). See also *ERE*, I, 93 b, s. v. *Ādibuddha* (by L. de la Vallée Poussin); *ERE*, IX, 853 a; »... voidness is the *ens realissimum*, is *ātman*, or *brahman*, and this *ātman* is styled Vajrasattva, a Bhagavat united to his Bhagavati (= *çakti*). *Mantras* (formulas) and *vidhis* (rites) of different classes, especially erotic *vidhis*, quickly transform the devotee into Vajrasattva, or rather 'exteriorize' the Vajrasattva-nature that is immanent in every being (cf. *Sekoddeça-ṭikā*, XXXXVIII: *svabhāvād eva sarvabhāvāḥ sarva-buddha-mayāḥ*, 'All beings are by their very nature consubstantial with all the Buddhas', quoted by Tucci, *op. cit.*, III, Part II, 146. FDL), just as, in Mahāyāna, the practice of the 'perfect virtues' (*pāramitās*) develops the 'germ of a Buddha'....»

Of the erotic rites mentioned in the foregoing quotation, B. Bhattacharyya, *Iconography*, p. 6, even states that »his (Vajrasattva's) worship is always performed in secret and is not open to those who are not initiated into the mysteries of the Vajrayāna...» The present writer could not find the slightest substantiation for this statement, either in the Yung-ho-kung or in Mongolia. Considering,



however, the contents of many Tantras and Sadhanas which reflect an erotic symbolical world conception, the possibility of the existence of 'left-hand practices (*vāmācāra*)' even with such sober races as the Tibetan and Mongolian cannot be entirely denied.

For the ordinary self-identification of the priest with Vajrasattva the simple formula *Om*, Vajrasattva, *āḥ* is muttered. This is often followed by the famous mantra 'The Hundred Syllables' (*ṣa-tāḥshara*, T. *yig-brgya*) which occurs in all major rites (*sādhana*s, *abhisheka*s, *homas*, and *bskang-gso*). It reads: *Om Vajrasattva samayam anupālaya. Vajrasattvena upatishtha. Dṛho me bhava, sutoṣhyo me bhava, supoṣhyo me bhaya, anurakto me bhava, sarva-siddhim me prayaccha, sarvakarmeshu ca me cittam śreyah kuru, hūṃ ha ha ha ho, bhagavan sarva-tathāgata-vajra mā me munca, vajrī-bhava, mahāsamaya-sattva, āḥ*, for which the following interpretation is given: 'Om. Vajrasattva, protect (me in accordance with your) vow. Stand by me through the essence of vajra. Be firm for my sake. Be well pleased for my sake. Be well thriving (or: wealth-bringing) for my sake. Bestow all blessings (siddhi) on me. In all my doings better my heart. *Hūṃ. Ha ha ha ha ho.* Bhagavān, Vajra of all the Tathāgatas, do not forsake me. Become the vajra essence of the great vow. *Āḥ*'. The text is found in the *Sādhana-mālā*, p. 74 and *passim*, in *TTP*, No. 1122 (XX), 527 b, Sarat Chandra Das has attempted to translate it from a faulty text, JASB, LXVII, 128. Cf. also, Toganoo, *Himitsu Jiso no kenkyū*, 362 ff. (*variae lectiones*), 399.

For a correct understanding of the formula it should be borne in mind, from what has been set forth before, that the yogin is addressing himself as Vajrasattva. The self-identification of the yogin with the divinity is explained as ritualistic, not actual. Readers familiar with the Catholic ritual will be struck by certain analogies here. The words quoted from the *Sekoddega-ṭikā* (*supra*) seem to bear a close resemblance to such passages of the Ordo Missae as '... ejus divinitatis esse consortes ...', and the question raised since the days of de Rubruck (1253), Jeronimo Xavier (1598), Huc and Gabet (1850) and many others who are quoted by Filippo de Filippi in his edition of that excellent *Account of Tibet* which we owe to critical Ippolito Desideri, S. J. (1712—1727) (see note 37 to pp. 300—302), may surge to the surface again: Who borrowed from whom, and what? And all the curious answers may be repeated, citing St. Thomas, the Black Mass, and the Long-nosed Teacher of Tsong-kha-pa indiscriminately. For a discussion of this presumed connection between Buddhism and Christianity see Sven Hedin, *Transhimalaya*, III, 313.

We shall not refrain from pointing out analogies between the various religious systems wherever we think we find them, but we are afraid that before the historical background of that phase of Buddhism in which these analogies developed is cleared up all speculations regarding mutual loans or convergent evolutions will be premature.

In concluding, let us cite a few more writings on Vajrasattva. Here, as in the case of other late Buddhist gods, the books by Alice Getty (*The Gods of Northern Buddhism*) and Antoinette Gordon (*The Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism*; one may doubt whether the qualification 'Tibetan' was necessary in this case) may be consulted with profit, especially for the purpose of identification. Grünwedel's *Mythologie*, Foucher's *Etudes*, Bhattacharyya's *Iconography* are all based on first hand source material.

For a very interesting picture of Vajrasattva surrounded by Mahāsiddhas see Grünwedel, *Vier-undachtzig Zauberer*, pp. 224—225 (with detailed explanations). Cf. also Roerich, *Tibetan Paintings*, 38, 58, 82. S. Toganoo, Rishu, pp. 441 ff, discusses Vajrasattva — Samantabhadra — Vajrapāṇi. For a discussion of Vajrasattva and *māhasukha* see Toganoo, *op. cit.*, pp. 417 ff. A bibliography on Vajradhara will be given in connection with Vajrapāṇi.

Here a reference to Bhattacharyya, *Esoterism*, pp. 127, and his article 'Vajradhar vs. Vajrasattva', *JBORS*, IX, pp. 114 ff., may suffice.

<sup>23</sup> *Indo-Tibetica*, III, Part II, especially pp. 22 ff.

<sup>24</sup> Tucci, *op.cit.*, 18—19. Cf. Hall II, First Floor, B 24—26.

<sup>25</sup> Edited and translated by Kazi Dawa-Samdub (*Tantrik texts*, Vol. VII). Cf. pp. 22 ff. of the English translation, the wording of which has been slightly altered where it seemed advisable. With these interpretations compare those given by Tucci, *loc.cit.*, pp. 27 ff.).

<sup>26</sup> The plan reminds us more or less of that of the city of Agbatana (Ekbatana) as described by Herodotus (I, 28; we quote from G. Rawlinson's translation): 'The Medes... built the city now called Agbatana, the walls of which are of great size and strength, rising in circles one within another. The plan of the place is, that each of the walls should out-top the one beyond it by the battlements... The number of the circles is seven, the royal palace and the treasuries standing within the last. The circuit of the outer wall is very nearly the same with that of Athens. Of this

wall the battlements are white, of the next black, of the third scarlet, of the fourth blue, of the fifth orange; all these are colored with paint. The two last have their battlements coated respectively with silver and gold».

<sup>27</sup> With the description of the Eight Great Cemeteries according to the *Vajra-pradīpa ṭippanī* of *Surata-vajra* (Tucci, *op. cit.*, III, Part II, pp. 174 ff.) compare the *Çmarāna-vidhi* in L. Finot, «Manuscripts sanskrits de sadhanas retrouvés en Chine», *JA*, 1934, 49 ff.

<sup>28</sup> See note 15. See also R. v. Heine-Geldern, «Weltbild und Bauform Südasiens», *Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte Asiens* IV, 28—78. For an entirely different description of Vaiṣṇava's palace see the *Li-shih a-p'i-t' an lun* (TTP, No. 1644, XXXII, 192 c—193 b). Cf. also the description of Indra's palace referred to in Hall XV, A 5.

<sup>29</sup> On *mdos* see Grünwedel, *Weg nach Shambala*, pp. 94—95, and literature quoted there: Waddell, *Buddhism*, 484; Schlagintweit, *Le Bouddhisme au Tibet*, pl. XXXVII; Rev. Ahmad Shab, *Pictures of Tibetan Life*, pl. 20 middle, 29, Sarat Chandra Das, *Dictionary*, pp. 676—677 (where a description of the *mdos* and a list of its various types is found); 1292 b (*srung-skud*, «an amulet consisting of enchanted threads»); 1293 a (*srung-hkhor*, «a talisman, a disk made generally of threads consecrated by an incarnate lama»); 121 a (*bskang-mdos*, «a light framework made of sticks and colored threads as an offering (sic!) to the gods in case of sickness»). They are mentioned in this entry along with the (*b*)*srung-hkhor* (*supra*), and it is said that they are placed at the south side. See also Jäschke, *Dictionary*, s. v., and Dr. Hans Eberhard Kaufmann, «Das Fadenkreuz in Hinterindien», *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, XVI (1939), No. 15, 193—195 (illustrated).

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P'ai-lou at Western Entrance to Court I



PLATE II



1. P'ai-lou leading to Court II



2. Lamas in Procession carrying Remnants of Mandala to Naga Well





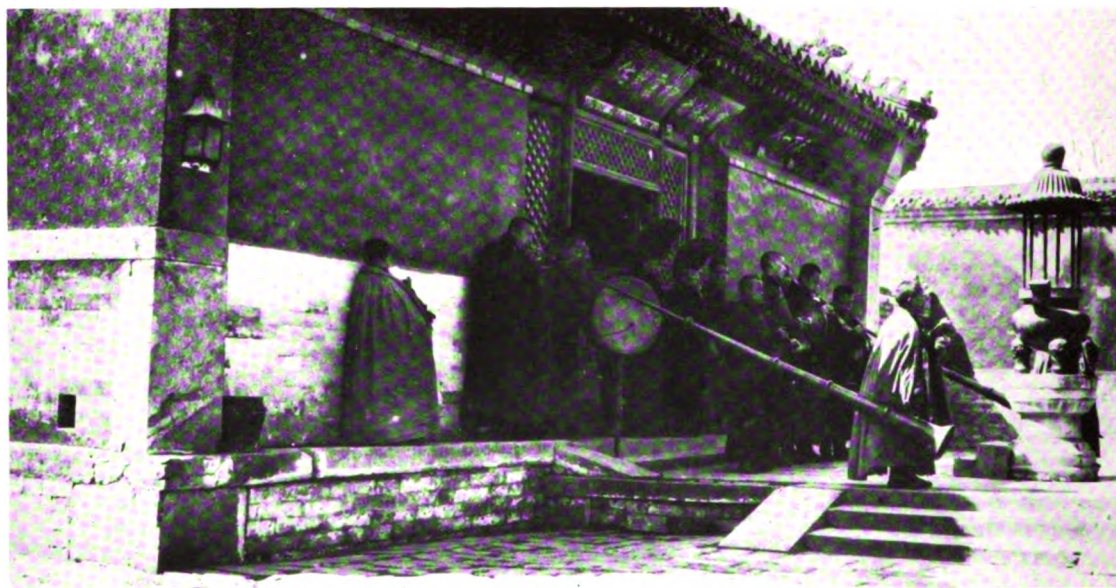
Marble Lion South-east of P'ai-lou leading to Court II



PLATE IV



1. Lamas' Living Quarters East of the Temple



2. Service in front of the Akya Temple





1. Court III, South-east Corner: Bell-tower and Flag-pole



2. Court III, North-west Corner: Bronze Lion and Inscription Pavilion



PLATE VI



Court III, South-west Corner: Part of Gates leading to Court II, Flagpole and Corner of Drum-tower

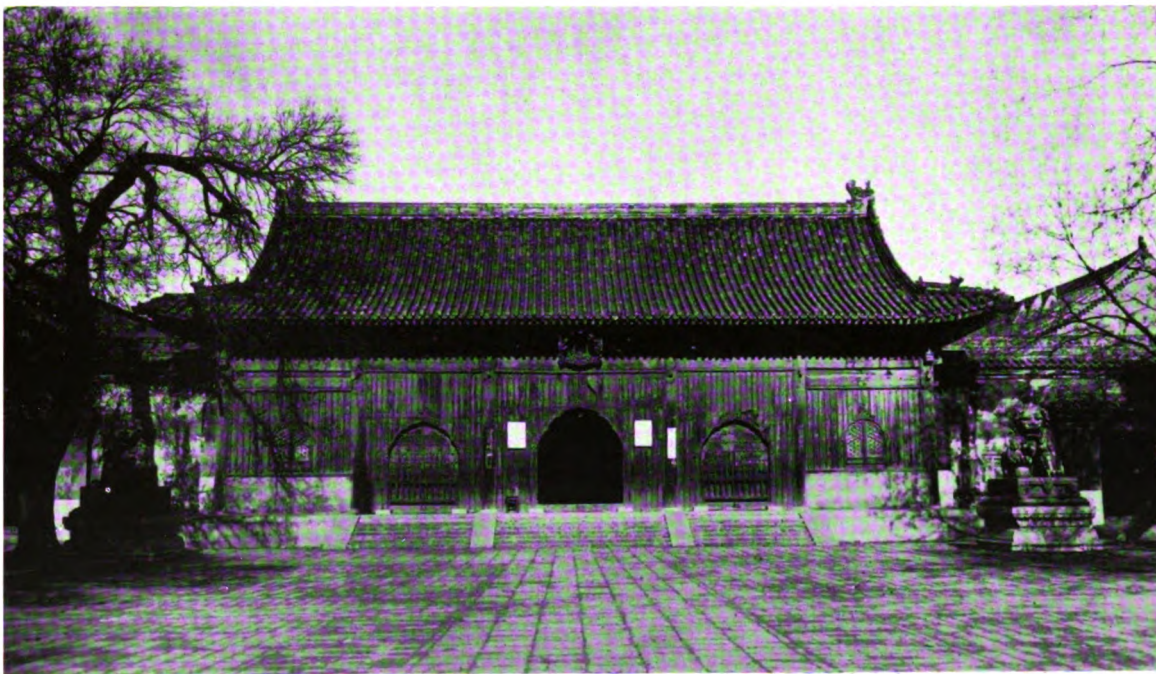




1. «Mock Service» in front of Hall I, imitating a *chos-grva* disputation



2. Chu Pa-chieh with his rake chasing away the onlookers



3. Front View of Hall I





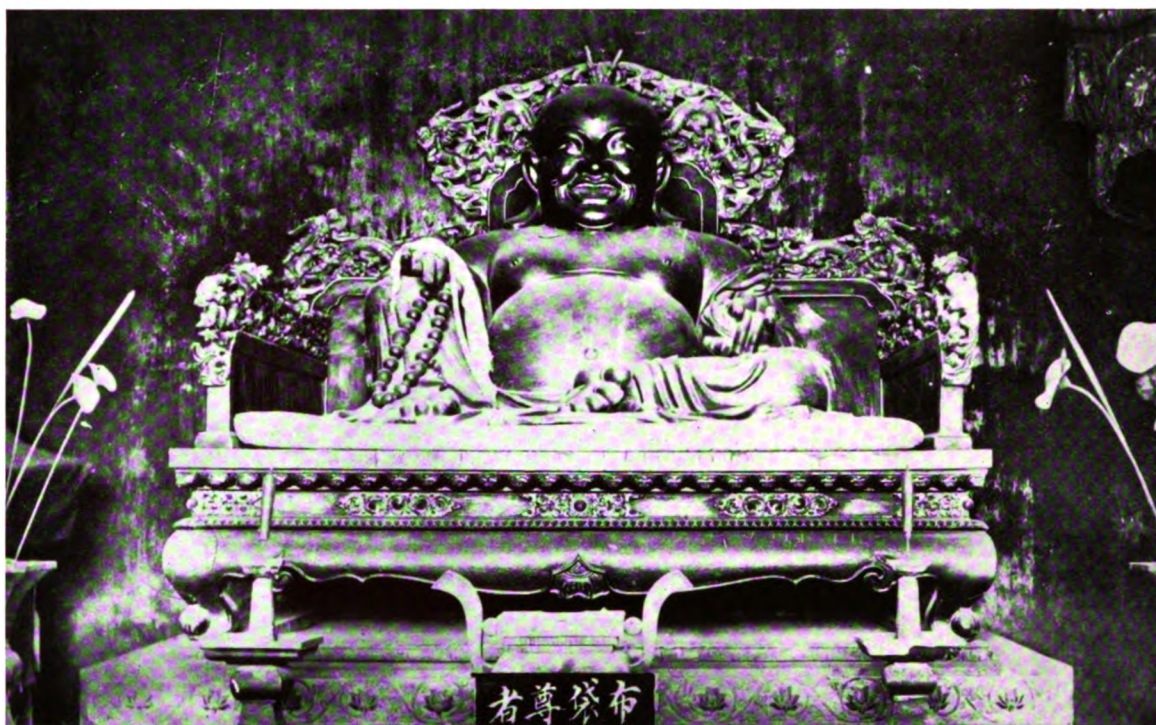
Court III, South-west of Hall I: Bronze Lion suckling Cub from Claws



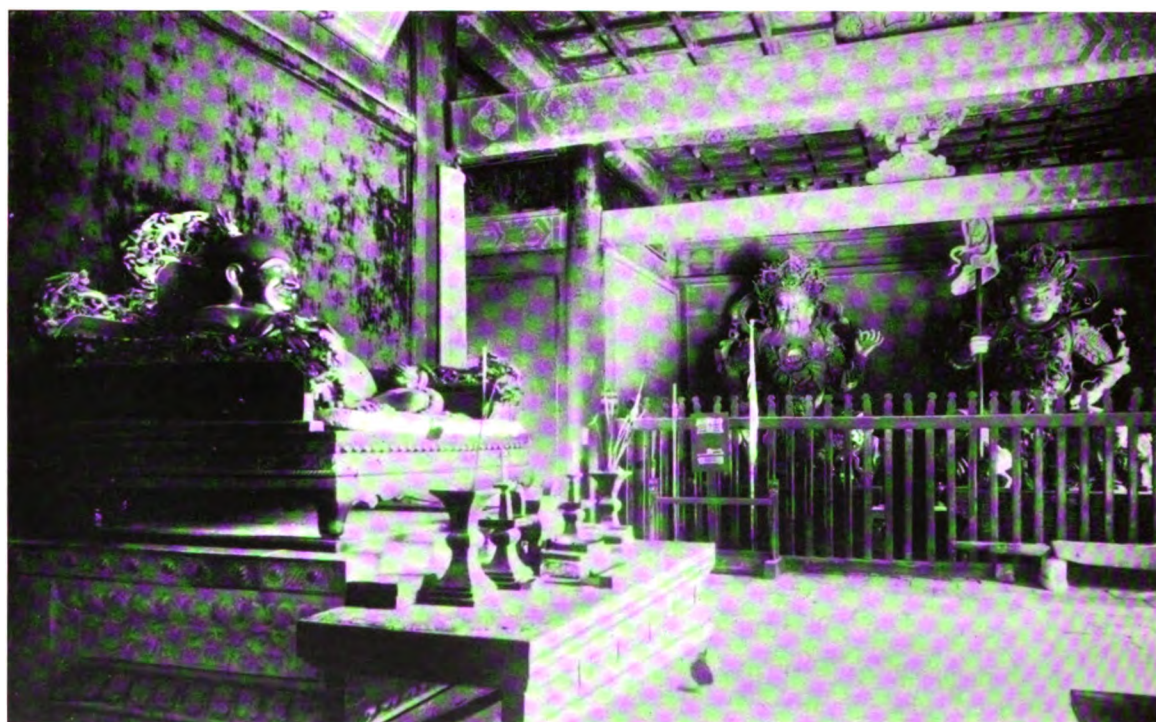


Entrance to T'ien-wang-tien, Hall I





1. Hall I: Pu-tai Ho-shang. Instead of his Bag He holds a Corner of his Robe



2. Hall I: Pu-tai Ho-shang and Two Lokapālas



1. Hall I, East Wall: Vaiṣravaṇa and Virūpākṣa



2. Hall I, West Wall: Virūdhaka and Dhṛtarāshṭra



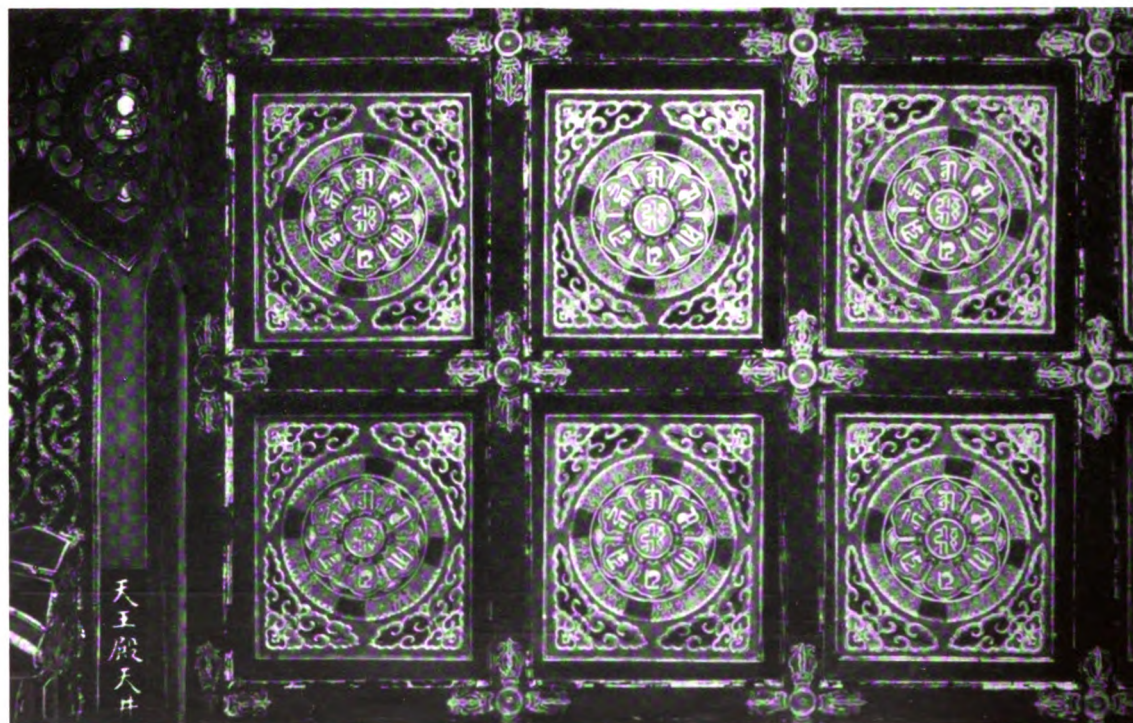
PLATE XII



1. Wooden Statue of Skanda (Wei-tou)



2. Skanda the Dragon-killer



3. Hall I: Coffered Ceiling





1. Hva-çang surrounded by Children. Detail of Lamaist Painting (H. 289. HEDIN Exp. Coll. S. E. M. Stockholm)

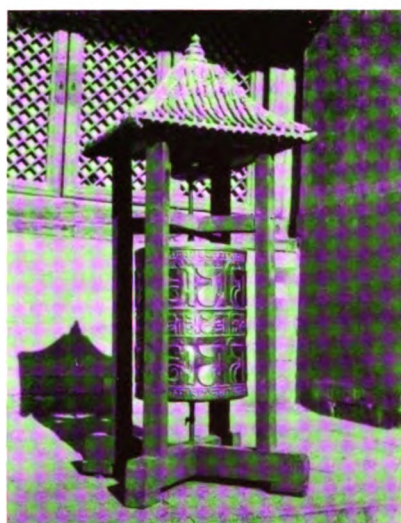


2. Hva-çang. Bronze Statue (H. 2451. HEDIN Exp. Coll. S. E. M. Stockholm)



3. Novices returning from Service





1. Prayer-wheel under Veranda of Hall II



2. Court IV, Northern Section with Platform



3. Court IV. Incense burner



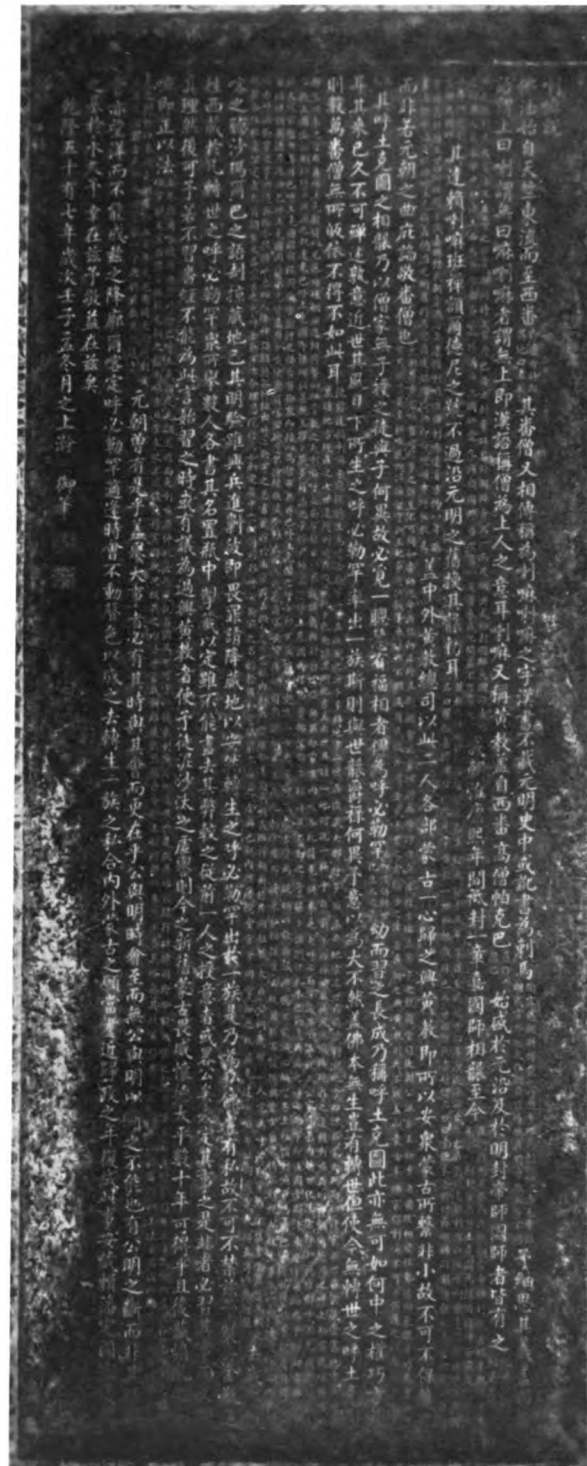
4. Court IV. Incense burner. In background Hall II





Court IV. Pavilion with Tetraglot Inscription of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung. Dated 1792 A. D.





Chinese Text of Tetraglot Inscription



Detail of Lamaist Painting said to represent the Emperor Ch'ien Lung as Grand Lama (H. 3113.  
HEDIN Exp. Coll. S. E. M. Stockholm)



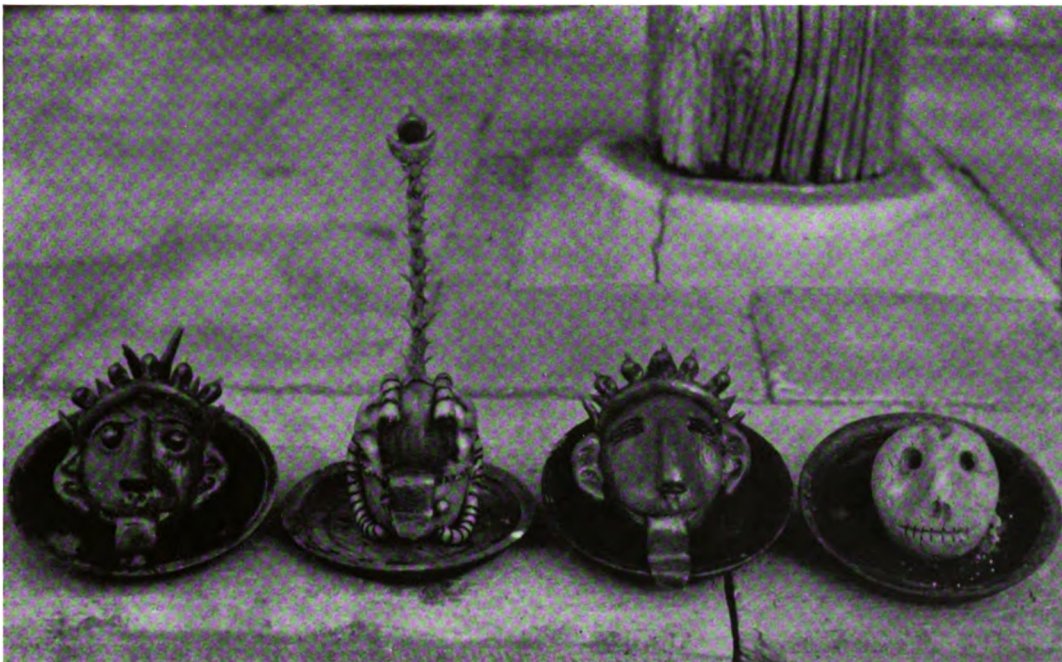


Court IV, Southern Section with Hall XVI





1. Dough Offerings. Upper Row: Various Forms representing Internal Parts of Human Body, Head, Skull. Mandala on Circular Stand, Lower Row: The «Eight Offerings»

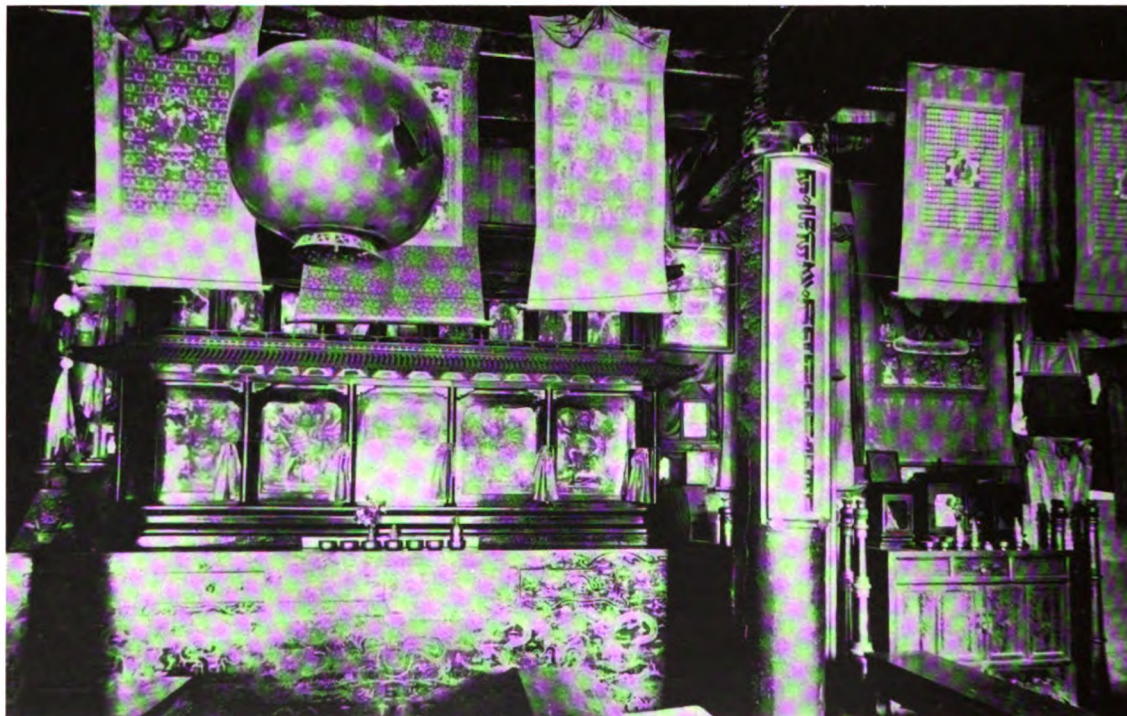


2. Dough Offerings, Detail of Preceding Picture





1. Hall II, East Wall: Statues of Tsong-kha-pa (A 1), Çes-rab-seng-ge (A 2), Guhya-samāja Pentad (A 4). Seat of Mkhān-po with Offering Table in front. Seats of Lamas



2. Hall II, East Wall: Guhya-samāja Pentad (A 4). In front Seven of the «Eight Offerings». Music is represented by the large Tubes at the Right of the Pillar with the Lan-tsha Inscription

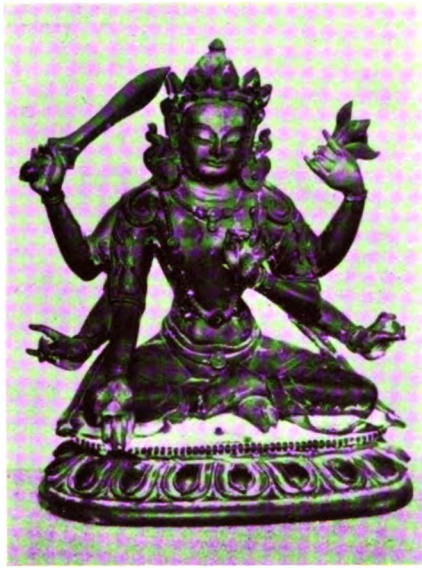




Lamaist Painting representing Guhya-samāja (H. 947. HEDIN Exp. Coll. S. E. M. Stockholm)



PLATE XXII



1. Mahā-pratyangirā. Bronze Statue (H. 2297. HEDIN Exp. Coll. S. E. M. Stockholm. Height 9,3 cm)



2. Hall II: Yama and Yamī (A 4e).  
Bronze Statue



3. Hall II, Row A: Paintings Nos. 12—14. Above: B 11. Below: Offering Gifts





1. Hall II: Painting, so-called *Rgyan-tshogs*, «Sets of Ornaments», offered to Mahākāla and Yama (B 11)



2. Right Half of the Painting  
with Offerings to Yama



3. Left Half of the Painting  
with Offerings to Mahākāla

PLATE XXIV



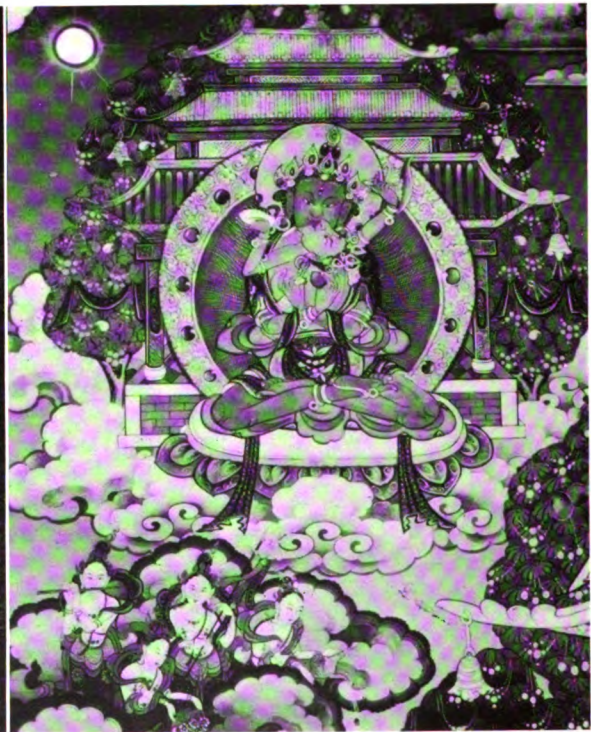
1. Vajrasattva. Bronze Statue (H. 2174. HEDIN Exp. Coll. S. E. M. Stockholm. Height 19,4 cm)



2. Vajradhara. Bronze Statue (H. 426. HEDIN Exp. Coll. S. E. M. Stockholm. Height 15 cm)

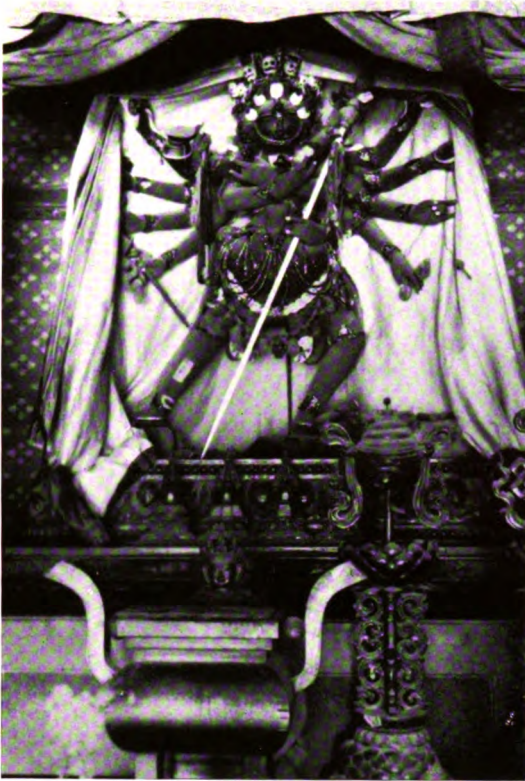


3. Vajradhara Yuganaddha. Lamaist Painting (H. 3044. HEDIN Exp. Coll. Chicago)

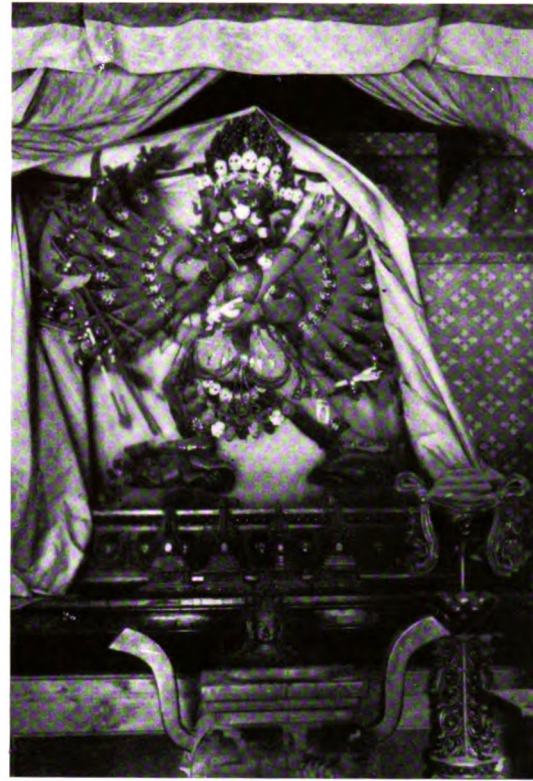


4. Vajrasattva Yuganaddha. Detail of Painting No. 3





1. Hall II, Second Floor: Samvara Yuga-  
naddha. Wooden Statue



2. Hall II, Second Floor: Yamāntaka Yuga-  
naddha. Wooden Statue

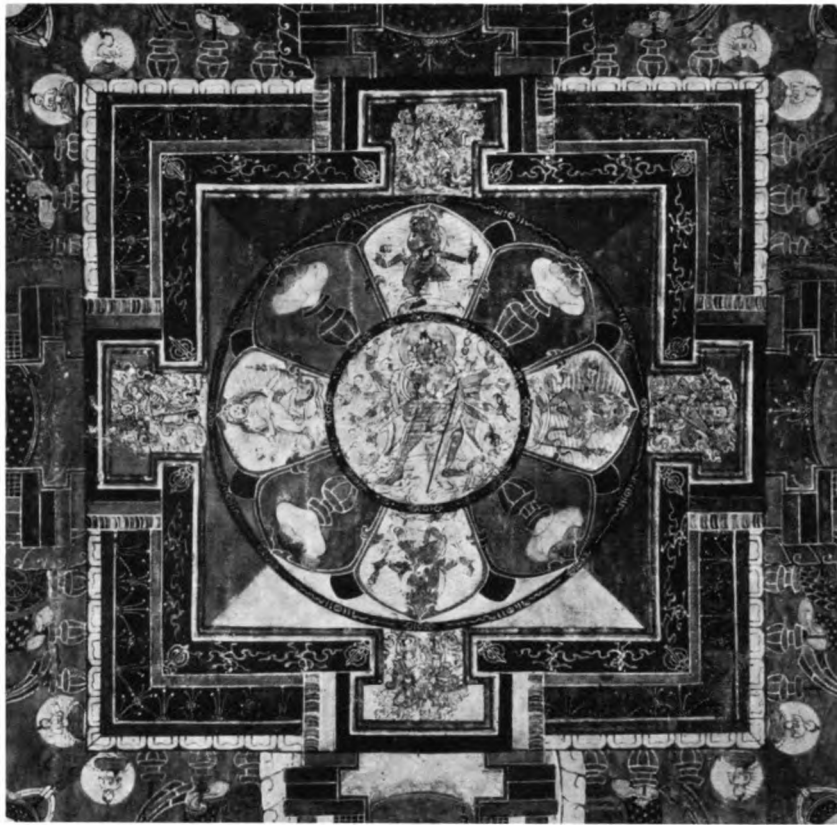


3. Samvara Yuga-  
naddha. Bronze Statue (H 589.  
HEDIN Exp. Coll. S. E. M. Stockholm. Height 31 cm)



4. Detail of Bronze Statue No. 3

PLATE XXVI



1. Detail of Lamaist Painting representing simplified Mandala of Samvara  
(H. 1965. HEDIN Exp. Coll. S. E. M. Stockholm)



2. Hall II: Rajomandala of Samvara. Offerings in Foreground made to the Deity while designing the Mandala





1. Hall II: Part of G'yang-hgug Offering. Mutton on High Table, Cakes on Low Table, Incense Burner in Front

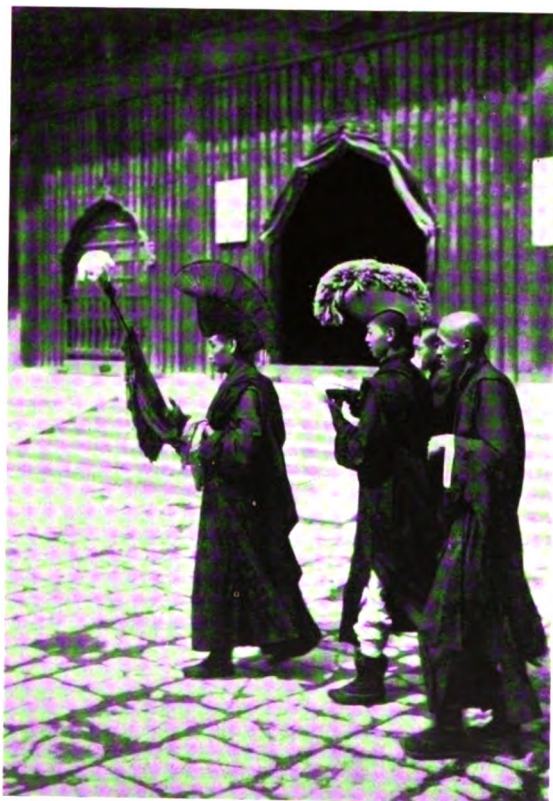


2. Hall II: G'yang-hgug Offering for Vaiçravaṇa

PLATE XXVIII



1. G'yang-hgug Procession leaving Hall II for Circumambulation



2. G'yang-hgug Procession in front of the »Gate of Blessings» of Hall I



3. G'yang-hgug Procession backing into Hall II





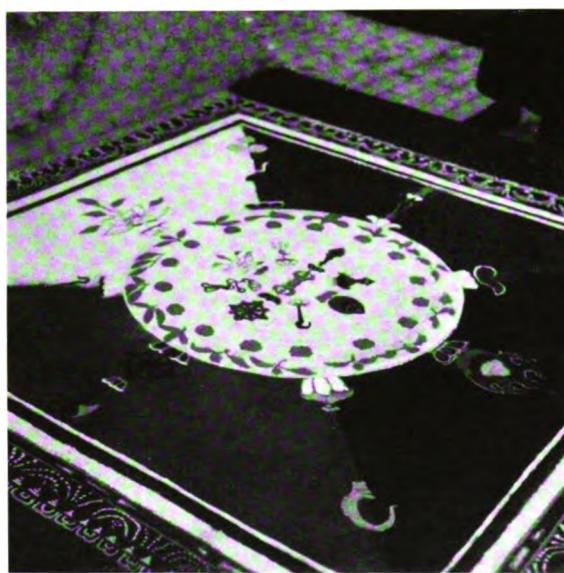
1. Rattle staffs and Alms bowls used in Alms Begging Ceremony



2. G'yang-hgug Stand with Painting of Vaiçravaṇa in Background



3. Lamas preparing a Rajomaṇḍala to Kalaçakra



4. The Rajomaṇḍala almost completed



PLATE XXX



1. Court IV: Burnt Offering. Hall XVI in Background



2. Burnt Offering. First Choir



3. Burnt Offering. Second Choir





1. Burnt Offering. Dean fanning the Fire. On Side Table: Vimāna, Holy Water Vessel, Skull bowl, Laddles



2. Burnt Offering. Dean feeding the Fire with Melted Butter





1. Burnt Offering. Vimāna with Offerings



2. Burnt Offering. Dean consecrating the Vimāna

















JUN 9 1965

